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ABSTRACT

A longitudinal, ethnographic study examined the form and content of the linkages that have been established by the principal organizations involved in the implementation of the Exemplary In-School Demonstration Project. During the study, on-site observers utilized the following data collection strategies: document analysis, respondent and informant interviews, direct participation, and extensive observation of the various facets of given local projects. In all, 51 projects were investigated. The focus of the program observations was on the various linkages that projects have made with the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) system, with community-based organizations, with other youth service projects, with other components of the educational system, and with the private sector. Researchers sought to identify linkages that are generic across variations in program design as well as those that appear specific to each of the following four program models: academic credit for work experience, career awareness, expanded private sector involvement, and youth-initiated projects. While different linkages appear most appropriate to each of these four strategies for service delivery, it was consistently found that linkages work best in those settings where enlightened self-interest and reciprocity are evident. (MN)

ED224901

PATTERNS
OF
COLLABORATION:
THE
CETA/SCHOOL
LINKAGE

An analysis of inter-institutional linkages between education
and employment/training organizations.

INTERIM REPORT # 4

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YOUTHWORK NATIONAL POLICY STUDY
Cornell University
August 1980

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OVERVIEW

to

PATTERNS OF COLLABORATION: THE CETA/SCHOOL LINKAGE

This report is the fourth and last in a series of Interim Reports to be prepared by the Youthwork National Policy Study on various aspects of the Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects. These projects are being conducted under the auspices of Title IV, Part A, of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA) of 1977. The projects are a set of local programs and represent an effort by the U.S. Department of Labor in collaboration with countless local and state educational authorities, public and private sector organizations, and community-based organizations to explore together improved means of providing employment, training, and education for young people, particularly those from low-income and minority families. The Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects are administered through Youthwork, Inc., an intermediary non-profit corporation.

PATTERNS OF COLLABORATION: THE CETA/SCHOOL LINKAGE is a report devoted to the description and analysis of the various linkages that the respective projects have made with the CETA system, with community-based organizations, with other youth service projects, with other components of the educational system, and with the private sector. The goal is to describe the emergent linkages and to assess the impact of these linkages (both formal and informal) upon 1) the delivery of services to youth; 2) the ability to coordinate and plan programs; 3) the presence or absence of duplication of services; and 4) the reciprocal impact that the new Exemplary programs have had upon other components of the social/organizational network within which the programs have operated. An assessment is also made of which linkages appear most critical to the programs at different stages of their development. Finally, the impact of these linkages upon the "survival capacity" of the programs is described.

Data for this report came from twenty-four projects in nineteen states.

August 1980

a collaborative project of Youthwork, Inc. and New York State College of Human Ecology, a statutory college of the state university

The need to bring the classroom closer to the workplace for disadvantaged youth is widely recognized. The challenge for the 1980s comes in putting substance into the rhetoric. Many approaches, such as career education and cooperative education, have been tried, but there is no easy solution. One obstacle to which federal policymakers need to pay more attention is that political rivalries between the school board and the prime sponsor (often the mayor's office) on local issues can provide disincentives for cooperating in federal training programs for youth. This consideration and other experiences to date suggest that even within the public sector, exhortation alone will not produce coordination when it conflicts with the self-interest of organizations. Consequently, concrete inducements--either in the form of requirements or incentives--for schools to work with employers must be included in any program where such cooperation is desired.

David W. Breneman and Susan C. Nelson
The Brookings Institution (1980)

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PREFACE

The Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA) became law on August 5, 1977. It amended the 1973 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) so as to provide the initiative for an expanded effort to address the problems of youth unemployment. YEDPA added several new programs to improve employment and training opportunities for young people in their late teens and early twenties, particularly those from low-income families. It has sought to emphasize more experimentation and innovation on the part of the local CETA prime sponsor than has been the case with programs developed for unemployed adults.

The Act is particularly concerned with overcoming the barriers between school and work by more closely linking education, employment, and training institutions. It seeks to forge new relationships. One of the four programs authorized by YEDPA was the Youth Employment and Training Program (YETP). This program was designed to provide a full range of work experiences and skills necessary for future employment, especially for those low-income youth, 16 to 21 years of age, who are in school or out of school and unemployed or underemployed. Certain YETP provisions also allow designated forms of participation by youth 14 and 15 years old, as well as by youth who are not economically disadvantaged.

What provides a sense of urgency to this effort is that there is a desperate need both to improve the education of low-income minority youth and to find the means by which to create more employment for them. The evidence on this point is both conclusive and sobering: the situation for poor minority youth, as compared with white middle-class youth, has steadily deteriorated over the past 15 years. Whether one measures employment rates or labor force participation rates, the disparities have grown and continue to do so. This is in spite of all the education, employment, and training programs initiated since the mid-1960s and carried on to the present (cf. Adams and Mangum, 1978:19-34).

The spending level for YEDPA for both fiscal years 1979 and 1980 has been approximately $1.1 billion. The first priority for these funds has been to generate in the vicinity of 300,000 employment opportunities for youth. As such, they have become an integral component of efforts by the administration to reduce the present levels of unemployment. Nevertheless, and in recognition that present approaches to reduce youth unemployment are imperfect, both in design and implementation, the Act has authorized the Secretary of Labor to allocate up to one-fifth of YEDPA funds on demonstration projects to support knowledge development. The mandate from the Congress was clear:

> Sec. 321. It is the purpose of this part to establish a variety of employment, training, and demonstration programs to explore methods of dealing with the structural unemployment problems of the nation's youth. The basic purpose of the demonstration programs shall be to test the relative efficacy of the different ways of dealing with these problems in different local contexts.

> Sec. 348. ...to carry out innovative and experimental programs, to test new approaches for dealing with the unemployment problems of youth, and to enable eligible participants to prepare for, enhance their prospects for, or secure employment in occupations through which they may reasonably be expected to advance to productive working lives. Such programs shall include, where appropriate, cooperative arrangements with educational agencies to provide special programs and services...

The monies that were to be distributed according to formula among the local sponsors of programs for youth would alleviate some unemployment and "buy time". Yet there was little confidence that, in the end, these projects would either address the long-term needs of the youth or provide new insights into how programs might be more effectively organized and implemented so as to have a greater impact. New ideas, new approaches, and new actors would have to be on the scene if innovative and path-breaking approaches were to be found.[1] And while it was not explicit in the legislation, it can be surmised that it was the hope of the authors that if successful projects could be located where jobs were created and the youth were prepared to assume them, then perhaps cities and states would be encouraged to redirect portions of the 80 percent formula funds towards projects of this kind. Thus, the discretionary funds projects could achieve a ripple effect throughout the infrastructure of youth employment and training programs.

To learn more about one aspect of the complex set of relations between education and present/future employment opportunities, the Department of Labor set aside in Fiscal Year 1979 and again in FY 1980 from the discretionary funds approximately $15 million for "Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects." These grants were to explore the dynamics of in-school projects and their effectiveness. They also would be awarded to promote cooperation between the education and employment and training systems.

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[1] As but one indication of the disenchantment with current approaches, witness the efforts of the Carter Administration to cut by almost $200 million the funding during FY 1979-1980 for vocational educational programs. Then-Secretary Califano called vocational education one of HEW's "least effective" programs (Carnegie Council on Policy Studies, 1979:146).

To assist the Department of Labor and its regional offices in undertaking this effort, Youthwork, Inc., an intermediary non-profit corporation, was established in January 1978. It was created with financial and administrative support from the Field Foundation, the Public Welfare Foundation, the Southern Education Foundation, the Taconic Foundation, and the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. Youthwork's responsibilities were to include: developing guidelines for the competition to select the Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects, reviewing submitted proposals, making recommendations for funding, providing guidance and technical assistance for those projects selected in the competition, developing and implementing a knowledge development plan so as to increase understanding of different approaches and their effectiveness, and forwarding research reports and policy recommendations to the Department of Labor.

As a result of a five-tier evaluation process designed to select from among the more than 520 submitted proposals, Youthwork made its recommendations to the Department of Labor. Forty-eight projects were chosen. The first contracts were signed and projects began operation in September 1978. Forty-seven of the original 48 projects have been or are now (August 1980) operational.[2] Programs were funded in one of four substantive areas: Academic Credit for Work Experience, Expanded Private Sector Involvement, Career Awareness, and Job Creation Through Youth-Operated Projects.

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[2] An additional nine projects were also funded during Fiscal Year 1979 on a non-competitive basis.

To assess these projects and their efficacy in achieving the twin goals of program effectiveness and inter-institutional collaboration, Youthwork undertook a number of knowledge development efforts. These were to include the use of analytic ethnographic material collected by a trained observer placed at each project, third-party evaluations, MIS systems, and self-study reports from the individual projects.

For the first of these efforts, that of developing a cross-site comparative framework employing qualitative data collection strategies, Youthwork, Inc., selected in September 1978 a group of researchers at the College of Human Ecology, Cornell University. The Cornell project, entitled Youthwork National Policy Study, has undertaken a longitudinal qualitative research program. Trained observers at each of the project sites have been gathering data on selected key policy issues. These data are, in turn, analyzed and used by the Cornell staff as the basis for reports (such as the present) and for the development of national policy recommendations.

Data for this present report have been gathered by trained on-site observers at twenty-four projects in nineteen states. The data have taken the forms of intensive and in-depth interviews, participant observations, the use of written materials, and statistics gathered by each site for the purpose of reporting to the Department of Labor and to Youthwork, Inc. A more detailed discussion of the methodology is to be found in Chapter Two. The report is divided into seven sections: the

Introduction, a chapter discussing the methodology, four substantive chapters (one for each of the four program areas being analyzed), and the Summary and Recommendations.

Appreciation must be expressed to the many on-site observers associated with our effort. They have consistently performed with a level of interest and competence during their many months in the field. A list of their names follows this Preface. Likewise, mention must be given to the local project personnel who have been generous with their time and candid in their responses. As a means to protect those persons at the local sites who have been part of this sizeable knowledge development effort, anonymity was promised from the beginning. Those who have participated will know who they are. Perhaps they will recognize themselves amidst the descriptive and interview data.

Ray C. Rist
Principal Investigator
August 1980

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CBO	Community Based Organization
CETA	Comprehensive Employment and Training Act
DOL	Department of Labor
ETA	Employment and Training Administration
GED	General Education Diploma
LEA	Local Education Authority
LEAA	Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
MDTA	Manpower Development and Training Act
MIS	Management Information System
NCRY	National Commission on Resources for Youth
NYC	Neighborhood Youth Corps
OJT	On-The-Job Training
OYP	Office of Youth Programs
PNP	Public Non-Profit
PSE	Public Service Employment
RFP	Request for Proposal
ROP	Regional Occupational Program
SEP	Student Employment Program
SPEDY	Summer Program for Economically Disadvantaged Youth
VEP	Vocational Exploration Program
YCCIP	Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects
YEDPA	Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act
YES	Youth Employment Services
YETP	Youth Employment and Training Program
YNPS	Youthwork National Policy Study

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This monograph is an interim report on the form and content of the linkages that have been both successful and unsuccessful for the principal organizations involved in the implementation of the Exemplary In-School Demonstration Project. This is the fourth and final report to be prepared by the Youthwork National Policy Study, located at Cornell University. The report has sought to identify linkages that are generic across variations in program design as well as those that appear specific to each of the four program models being developed and refined by Youthwork, Inc. The four models--academic credit for work experience, career awareness, expanded private sector involvement, and youth-initiated projects--can best be conceptualized as varying in-school strategies for involving youth as they undertake to make their transition from school to work.

The four models are neither conceptually definitive nor are they mutually exclusive in practice. The same can be said for the various linkages that are identified and analyzed. They represent different variations on a common theme. That theme--developing collaboration to enhance service delivery to youth--finds various forms of expression across all four models. A key goal of this report is to sort out which linkages appear most appropriate to which strategy of service delivery.

A consistent finding across all four approaches is that linkages work best in those settings where enlightened self-interest and reciprocity are evident. We state this as our first general finding because it appears to be such a consistent and critical determinant of whether linkages can first be created and then sustained between two or more organizations. Further, given that a number of forces are grouped against any such successful linkage, those factors that do enhance collaboration must be clearly articulated. In noting how current institutional arrangements make for difficulty in establishing new relations, Wurzburg (1980:x) has written:

> There is one important problem with federal policy encouraging institutional collaboration under CETA as YEDPA does: In the prime sponsor-education relationship, only the CETA prime sponsor is accountable to Washington. Even the most forceful federal policy makers cannot convert reluctant unions, schools, local government agencies, or private employers to the CETA religion. Furthermore, uncertainties about the level and availability of funding force local programming decisions to be delayed to the last moment. These conditions make it extremely difficult for CETA sponsors to develop working partnerships.

Data from the sites exploring means of "Expanded Private Sector Involvement" lend particular weight in support of this conclusion. The incentives for the private sector to become involved with in-school programs are basically few and far between. When they have worked, the involvement has frequently been because the private sector employer recognizes certain benefits, e.g., particularly the ability to screen for potential long-term employees and to be relieved of a significant portion of the early wage costs through a wage subsidy. Though aspects of the reciprocity may change when one moves from private to public sector employment, data from other projects also suggest that linkages are not as likely to be initiated or to be sustained when no exchange of benefits occurs.

What is implied by this analysis is that greater attention ought to be paid to the various obstacles that are placed in the path of collaboration--be these obstacles of overly restrictive regulations and guidelines, of continually changing policy signals which eventuate in local programs doing less and less as they wait for the inevitable memo dictating new modifications, of not providing sufficient program money to allow efforts to be done as they ought, and of not providing sufficient wage subsidies for both private and public sector employers to compensate them for their involvement. It should be stressed that time and again in interviews with potential private and public sector employers, the belief was mentioned that involvement with CETA programs was simply "not worth the hassle". So long as that continues to be a general perception and little is done concretely to change it, the disincentives for both public and private sector participation and collaboration will remain (cf. Johnson, 1980).

A second general finding of our study of collaboration is that the greater the number of organizations involved, the greater the complexity of the linkage system and the greater the amount of time invested in maintaining these linkages. Stated alternatively, there is a point (range?) of diminishing returns for projects as they link themselves to other organizations and agencies. A full quarter of our sample (six sites) gave evidence of having been overextended through the number of liaison groups, organizations, agencies, and advisory committees with which they had one or more collaborative relations.

What further exacerbated this situation for many sites was that beyond the linkages that were collaborative, there were those which necessitated participation, but seemingly had little relevance or utility to the project itself. The countless hours spent on boards, committees, city-wide coordinating councils of all types, and the like, took up a large proportion of the working hours of the top administrators. This is not to say that such participation should not have occurred, but only that with a scarce commodity like time, the allocation of it to such activities meant that other more program-specific activities were left unattended and unaccomplished (cf. Pressman and Wildavsky, 1979:121). We see this overextension of senior staff as having had a direct impact upon the long-time lag that many projects experienced in becoming operational.

A final factor related to the matter of complexity in linkages is that more than half of the programs found themselves within a network whereby the number of decisions to be made and the number of participants involved meant an increasing accumulation of delays in implementation. Again, to state it differently, the more decisions to be made, the less the likelihood of program success. Many of the Exemplary In-School programs required dozens of clearance actions by a wide range of organizations and agencies, ranging from the Department of Labor at the federal level through the decisions of local school boards in rural communities. Pressman and Wildavsky have calculated that when there are multiple actors involved, each with the right and obligation to participate in a decision-making process, an agreement level of

80 percent among these actors means that with just four decision points, the likelihood of successful implementation drops to less than 50 percent (1979:107).

Linkages that are generated as a result of a "crisis atmosphere" or because of the sudden availability of resources are not initially stable. They are not likely to endure unless modified to reflect long-term benefits for the organizations involved. That such were the origins of many of the Exemplary projects and that only some successfully transformed their linkages into more permanent and beneficial patterns of collaboration is one line of analysis developed in this report. In several programs, a slow (or not so slow) dissolution of agreement occurred. Delay enhanced the loss of momentum, the loss of consensus, and the increased likelihood of competing perspectives gaining in adherents and intensity.

As Wurzburg, Taggart, and others have all noted, the YEDPA legislation was not intended to reinforce the status quo, but to promote change in the manner by which the education and employment/training systems related to each other, *specifically at the local level*. The carrot of federal dollars was to induce local change. But moving the policy down through the various levels of government invariably transforms and mutates the initial design and intention. Tracing down just one of the various channels of decision making, specifically, between the federal CETA system and the local prime sponsor office, Wurzburg (1980:ix) has written:

> Uncertainty about funding levels, regulations and the law itself is a distinguishing characteristic of the entire CETA federal/prime sponsor partnership. Habitual as such uncertainties are, and continue to be under YEDPA, they still exact an enormous toll. Changing signals regarding funding levels caused sponsors to accelerate enrollments and then back-off; some were forced to lay off enrollees

> and staff. Doubts about what Congress would do with CETA reauthorization in the Fall of 1978 strained relations sponsors had newly established with local schools. These factors have reduced the planning and development time for new programs, and hurt the credibility of sponsors with other local agencies. They have also created a difficult work climate and seriously undermined prime sponsor staff stability. In the end, they have almost certainly lessened the effectiveness of the programs.

The very manner in which the federal government planned through YEDPA to influence local behavior gives every indication in some instances of having produced nearly the opposite. Local programs and organizational boundaries became more defined and less permeable as a reaction against confusion, conflicting guidelines, and mixed messages as to the goals of the federal initiatives. The federal government was relying on the creation of linkages through fiscal incentives as the means to generate the necessary change. That the funds, in and of themselves, have not put this infrastructure in place, is a point not to be missed. The infrastructure occurred when there were viable local reasons for having it so.

A final general recommendation to emerge from this study is that there is an essential need for technical assistance to local projects. Technical assistance that not only addresses the problems of program implementation, but that also allows local programs to ascertain just what precisely it is that they have implemented. While all the projects have in one manner or another implemented a school-to-work transition effort, it is also the case that, almost without exception, what now is in place is not entirely what was anticipated nor promised when the grant application was made. The process of improvisation and of continually readjusting the goals of the program to changing political, economic, and social conditions has resulted in efforts dissimilar to those initially envisioned.

The work of Goldberg and Prager (1979) as well as of Hall and Loucks (1977) suggests that technical assistance is absolutely essential to successful program implementation. This is so, not only for the reasons of sharing experiences and procedures that might not be known, particularly at a new project, but also to continue to push the local project to clarify its objectives, its goals, its assumptions on the translation of policy into program. Technical assistance necessitates a concern with methodology, thus moving beyond the bureaucratic "brush fire" mentality that sees each decision as discrete and disconnected from others. Technical assistance is necessary for local program personnel to sharpen their understanding of the consequences of accumulated decisions. That so little "history" existed at the Exemplary Projects resulted in successive waves of staff repeating the same behaviors that had been done earlier--and often to little avail.

There is another dimension to the providing of technical assistance. It concerns equipping local projects to sort out what organization system they are employing for their own project and what systems are in place for the organization and agencies around them. Such understanding has important and concrete implications for the form and content of linkages that can or cannot be developed. As is explicated in Chapter One, the work of Elmore (1978) has been particularly instructive in this regard as he has detailed not one, but four organization models, each of which has a distinctive approach to implementation. Our data suggest that building linkages and collaborative relations across organizational types is exceedingly difficult and wrought with complexities. Equipping projects better to understand the ecology of their organizational network could have considerable impact upon their ability to effect the linkages and collaborative ties that would be both reciprocal and sustaining.

The Exemplary projects have sought to operationalize their commitment and find continuity in their efforts. That it has been so difficult for the majority of projects to achieve these goals suggests that new and vigorous strategies of technical assistance are necessary. But perhaps this overstates the case. What may be necessary is not "new and vigorous" but consistent and informed assistance. The latter was surely missing from the Youthwork projects, particularly in the realm of creating and sustaining viable linkages. Many of the Youthwork projects remain, even now, marginal to the service delivery network for youth in transition. This status may be attributable, in part, to the tenuousness of "Demonstration" status, but it is also due to the fact that few successful linkages were generated. The task is one of providing to local projects not only the "how to" information, but the "why to" as well.

OVERVIEW

Though the following may be something of a reification of the findings, there is sufficient support for each of the conclusions to allow us to present them in this summary fashion.

Issue	Finding
1. Does integration and collaboration yield better service delivery to youth?	Yes, especially in those instances of inter-institutional reciprocity and match between organizational types.
2. Does integration and collaboration yield a greater likelihood of program continuation?	Yes, particularly when the project becomes a link between the CETA prime sponsor and the LEA.
3. Is there a point of diminishing return to projects in terms of time and effort spent on building and sustaining linkages?	Yes, and as a rule of thumb, senior staff ought not to spend more than 25 percent of their time on non-project-specific collaboration.

4.	Does the position of the program vis-a-vis the network of related programs influence the ability of the programs to deliver services?	Yes, isolated programs that were outside existing referral systems, that employed staff with few or no connections to other youth services, and that were physically located at some distance from the schools experienced considerable difficulty.
5.	Do the same linkages remain in place for the duration of a program?	No, different linkages are necessary at different times in the evolution of the project, though there are several key ones, e.g., with the prime sponsor and with the LEA, that are essential throughout.
6.	Is the process of implementation one that is related only to "start up" procedures?	No, implementation is an ongoing process throughout the life of the project.
7.	Has the federal incentive of financial support encouraged CETA/LEA collaboration?	Yes, though the quality and duration of that collaboration is due to factors beyond the financial support, e.g., reciprocity and shared goals.
8.	Have programs been developed according to original proposals?	Difficult to ascertain as few programs had developed implementation strategies.
9.	Do senior staff know if the program they were slated to implement has, in fact, been implemented according to plan?	Seldom, for with frequent staff turn-over, fewer and fewer staff were familiar with or had read original proposal.
10.	In what areas are technical assistance most necessary?	To assist local staff not only in program management and organization, but in the form and content of service delivery to youth.
11.	Is it important to distinguish between "formal" and "informal" linkages?	Yes, the data indicated that formal linkages were those which were necessary for program management and monitoring, while informal linkages were critical to the provision of services to youth, especially in locating employment and training opportunities.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Consider the following:

> YEDPA is not maintenance legislation designed to sustain existing policies and service levels. More than anything else, it is legislation intended to produce change. The purpose of these changes has been to rationalize service systems and better articulate the relationships between insitutions that are in a position to improve the abilities of youth to function in job markets for the purpose of providing more comprehensive and higher quality services than have been provided in the past (Wurzburg, 1980:1).

It is to an assessment of the issues raised in this quote that this present report is directed. Succinctly, the issues of how and whether CETA and local LEAs have been able to "better articulate the relationships" between them, of whether there has been "more comprehensive and higher quality services" than in the past, and, indeed, whether there is evidence of "change" are central to the analysis that follows.

Patterns of Collaboration: Defining the Issues

Even before the present economic recession made all the more vogue such buzz words as "inter-institutional interface" and "institutional linkages", there was a growing recognition that any attempt realistically to address the nation's unemployment problems would necessitate the collaborative efforts of multiple sectors and institutions in the society. To provide training without cognizance of labor market demands and projections (Berg, 1971), to seek economic development in a community without recognition of established businesses and how they might be effected (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1979), or to assume that work experience can be gained vicariously through classroom instruction (Carnegie Council on Policy Studies, 1979) are but three documented examples of unsuccessful efforts "to go it alone". The alternative approach would be to seek linkages, patterns of collaboration, and incentives for cooperation in order to, as Wurzburg noted, provide "more comprehensive and high quality services than have been provided in the past."

Such an approach was at the very heart of the policy guidelines established with the YEDPA legislation of 1977. As Taggart and Ganzglass (1980:46) have noted:

> YEDPA was not just "more of the same". It sought to change ways of doing business particularly in the relationship between the education and employment and training activities, and between local education agencies and prime sponsors.
>
> The provision most directly aimed at bringing this change was the requirement that 22% of the Youth Employment and Training Program (YETP) funds provided to State and local prime sponsors be spent on in-school programs under agreement between the prime sponsors and local education agencies.

Though not stated explicitly, the assumptions of policy makers evident from the approach taken in the YEDPA legislation are several: (1) that in the past the education and employment/training sectors had not effectively collaborated; (2) that each was less than fully successful in its mandate as a result of its practices; and (3) that the complexity and growing enormity of the youth unemployment problem necessitated new approaches that bridged the schism between these two delivery systems. Each of these can be briefly discussed in turn.

It is neither new nor startling to note that the education and employment/training systems have not worked cooperatively to address youth unemployment problems. A long list of studies, ranging from those of Presidential Commissions and national evaluations to those of academics and social critics, have first noted and then judged (positively or negatively) the presence of this hiatus. As far back as the work of John Dewey (1938), there have been calls for closing the gap between education and preparation for the world of work. Increasingly, the assumpton (and at present it is only an assumption) has been accepted that an important means by which to address youth unemployment is by bringing these two systems into an ongoing relation. We take much of the current research sponsored by the YEDPA legislation as a test not of whether this assumption proves correct, but only of the best means by which to operationalize it.

The second assumption, that each of the two systems is less than successful in its efforts to accomplish its objectives, is also one that is widely held. Whether one examines the illiteracy and dropout rates among minority youth from the nation's schools or the declining labor force participation rates for these same youth, the outcomes are highly similar: sizeable numbers of minority youth are increasingly distanced from the institutions of the society. The consequences are known. The unemployment rates for all youth are approximately 20 percent, and those for minority youth are nearly double that figure. What gives particular saliency to these findings is that they are indicative, particularly for black youth, of a trend in labor force participation that dates back more than a decade. Figure 1 provides graphic evidence of these trends.

Finally, the juxtaposition of these two sets of assumptions suggested to those who drew up the YEDPA legislation that new initiatives could not take a "business as usual" approach to the matter of youth unemployment. New initiatives, new actors, and new relations would have to be forged if anything other than "more of the same" was to be done. Both the enormity and complexity of the current situation made apparent that the consolidation and collaboration of several institutional sectors would be necessary if any new initiative was to have even the remote opportunity to succeed.

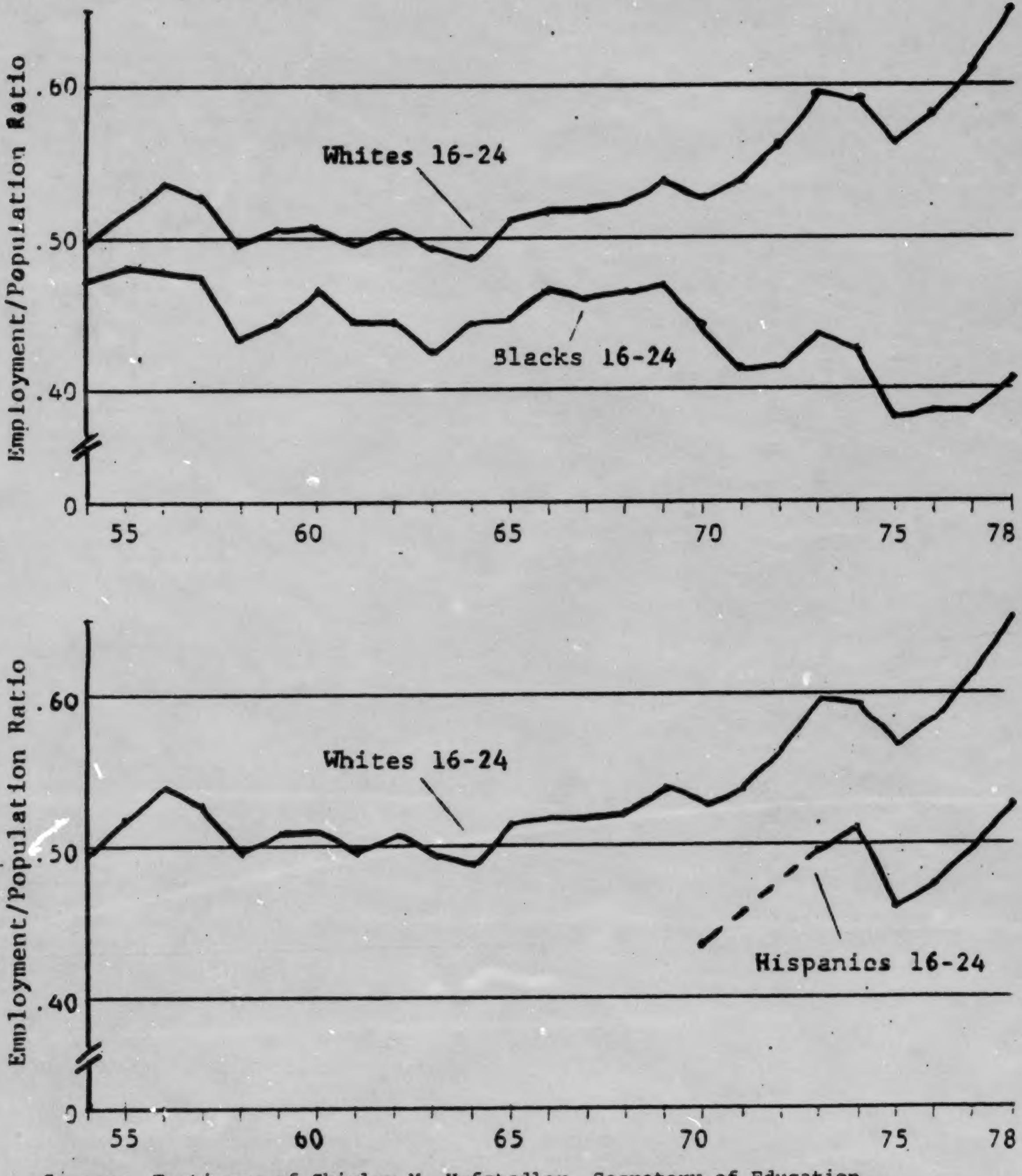
There is a fourth, and perhaps no less obvious, justification for the bringing together of the education and employment/training systems to address the matter of school-to-work transition and the future employability of American youth. If one examines the data available from the federal budget for the Fiscal Year 1979, it is immediately evident that the federal government has spent considerably less on secondary school/poor youth in comparison to poor youth in either elementary or post-secondary education. The data are in several forms: $3.2 billion was spent for poor children in grades K-6,while $1.2 billion was spent on poor youth in grades 7-12. For those low-income young persons who went on to higher education, the federal government spent, on an average, $3046 per student, but only $231 on each low-income high school student. For those low-income students who did graduate from high school, but did not go to college, the average expenditure on addition education and training was $161. The data are portrayed in Figure 2.

Figure 1

WHO'S LOSING GROUND?

Employment/Population Ratios Over 25 Years

1954-1978



Source: Testimony of Shirley M. Hufstedler, Secretary of Education, before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education of the House Education and Labor Committee. February 25, 1980.

Federal Education Expenditures

For Young People With Special Needs - FY 1979

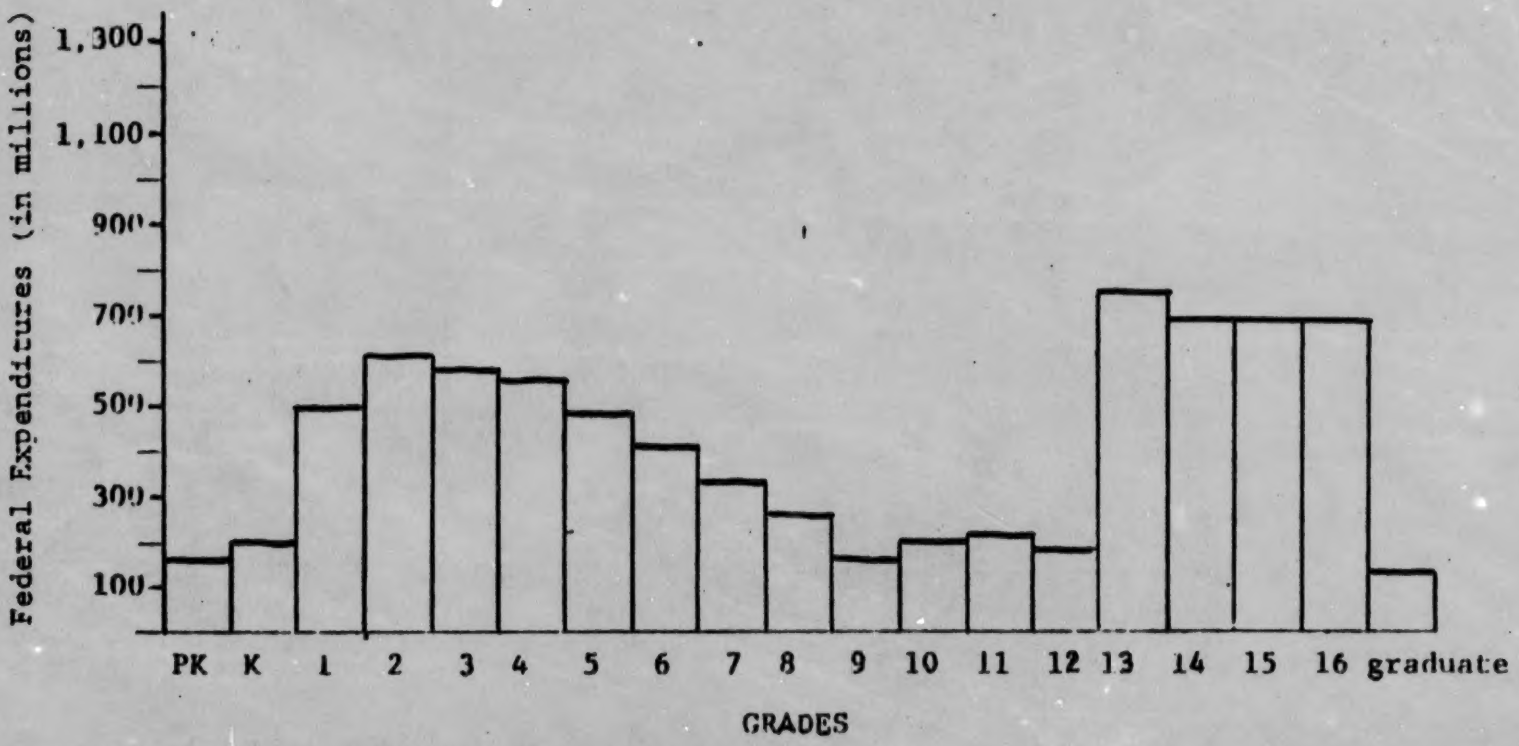


Figure 2. Source: Testimony of Shirley M. Hufstedler, Secretary of Education before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education of the House Education and Labor COmmittee. February 25, 1980.

The point can be simply made: so long as a substitution of dollars does not take place, any collaboration between institutions ought to increase the total amount spent on low-income youth in grades 7-12. Given the extremely low level from which current support begins (as evidenced above for the education sector), the concentration of resources to better assist these youth is highly desirable. The evidence is building that the rather sizeable expenditure of funds on low-income youth in the elementary grades has had a positive effect on their academic achievement (Hufstedler, 1980). Whether the same could be said for secondary school youth is premature as such funds have not been expended. Yet collaboration between the education and employment/training sectors appears necessary to generate the "critical mass" of funds necessary for making any change in the current condition of low-income youth, whether in their academic performance on basic skills, or on their knowledge, interest, and motivation to participate in the world of work.

Parenthetically, this approach appears now to have been institutionalized within the proposed Youth Act of 1980. Additional funds for youth education and employment training above the $825 million currently allocated to Title IV of CETA (the youth programs title) would be split evenly between the Department of Education and the Department of Labor for their respective programs. While such a stipulation at present (August 1980) is written only into the version of the legislation passed by the House Labor and Education Committee, the precedent of establishing fiscal incentives that encourage cooperation seems set, more than ever. This is especially so, given that the bill proposes a 22 percent set-aside for both education and CETA efforts. Thus

44 percent of the monies available each for prime sponsors and LEAs are earmarked for collaborative efforts. With increased appropriations, the impact of this set-aside grows proportionately. The sum total of funds that are to be spent according to an agreement between a CETA prime sponsor and the LEA approximates one-third of all monies authorized by the new act (cf. Byrne, 1980:14).

The Issue of Implementation

If the general consensus is that collaboration *ought* to exist between the education and employment/training sectors so as to enhance the opportunities of American youth, then the matter of *how* this is to be accomplished must be addressed. In short, what is necessary is an understanding of the mechanisms by which one moves from establishing goals to achieving them. What has been documented time and again is that little systematic study or attention has been paid to the process of implementation (Hargrove, 1975). Indeed, Hargrove sees it as the "missing link" between policy formation and program operation.

What further complicates the goals of planners is that seldom are programs implemented as they were designed. As the recent (and massive) Rand Corporation study of implementation of federal programs has made clear, the implementation process must itself be treated as an independent variable that profoundly affects what kind of program ultimately emerges (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978). Because so little is known about the processes of implementation and about the strategies that are most appropriate to achieve successful program operation, each of the projects reported upon in this present report has essentially had to rely either on previous experience or "best guesses" as to how to proceed. The development of linkages in these projects was essential to the goals the projects had stated for themselves. The route to developing these linkages, however, was difficult and uncharted and this is part of the story to be told in this report.

A critical difficulty in effecting viable linkages between the education and employment/training sectors comes from neither one having an articulated understanding of what the linkages should consist of. The goal for the Exemplary In-School Projects was linkages, but the rationale and methodology was not clear. As Pressman and Wildavsky have stated in this regard (1979:xxi):

> Policies imply theories. Whether stated explicitly or not, policies point to a chain of causation between initial conditions and future consequences. If X, then Y. Policies become programs when, by authoritative action, the initial conditions are created. X now exists. Programs make the theories operational by forging the first link in the causal chain connecting actions to objectives. Given X, we act to obtain Y. Implementation, then, is the ability to forge subsequent links in the causal chain so as to obtain the desired results.

Given that the projects were to be "demonstration projects", i.e., trying new and different ways of addressing the needs of in-school youth, it is perhaps not surprising that prior to the beginnings of the programs, there was little sense of how to "forge subsequent links in the causal chain so as to obtain the desired results." The consequence was an ongoing set of improvisations--some of which were successful and more of which were not.

But again, this is to be expected. Failure, rather than success, is the more likely outcome of social change. Quoting from Pressman and Wildavsky (1979:109):

> Our normal expectation should be that new programs will fail to get off the ground and that, at best, they will take considerable time to get started. The cards in this world are stacked against things happening, as so much effort is required to make them move. The remarkable thing is that new programs work at all.

Key to our understanding of when these new programs "do work at all" in terms of forging new relations is that the *linkages are made between institutions with comparable organizational features*. The work of Elmore (1978) has been particularly informative in this regard. Elmore suggests that "understanding organizations is essential to the analysis of implementation" (1978:185). He posits that there is not one, but four distinct models of organizational life and that within each, the matter of implementation is understood differently. His four analytic models are systems management, bureaucratic process, organizational development, and finally, conflict and bargaining. What is critical about these differentiations, as Elmore notes, is that (1978:188):

> Viewing the implementation process through a number of different organizational models allows us to be specific about the organizational assumptions we make when we offer prescriptions for improving implementation. Different models, we will see, lead to quite different perceptions and conclusions.

While not elaborating upon each of these four in detail, suffice it to say that neither the prime sponsors nor the LEAs involved in the Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects exhibited the organization structure that Elmore would categorize as "systems management". More appropriate to our present analysis is the fact that among the twenty four sites represented in this study, examples of all three remaining organizational models were present. Elmore describes the *bureacratic process model* as one that represents the sociological model of organizations.

It takes as its point of departure that "the essential feature of organizations is the interaction between routine and discretion." The organizational development model, blending sociological and psychological theory, focuses "on the conflict between the needs of individuals and the demands of organizational life." Finally, the conflict and bargaining model "addresses the problem of how people with divergent interests coalesce around a common task. It starts from the assumption that conflict, arising out of the pursuit of relative advantage in a bargaining relationship, is the dominant feature of organizational life."

Each of these models stresses a different aspect and vantage point from which to study the process of implementation. Comparing the manner in which different exemplary projects operationalized their implementation strategies should lead to a better understanding of why it was that many linkages failed, and why others existed in only the most tenuous of terms. Conversely, those linkages that have grown stronger during the past two years of program implementation have existed in those instances where there were similar organizational structures.

The theoretical work of Elmore leads to an examination of different organizational models and the modes of their implementation. The findings suggest that a mismatch between organizational types made exceedingly difficult the establishment of successful linkages. As but one example, when a LEA functioned on the bureaucratic process model and the project saw itself as a change agent in constant conflict with the larger system (i.e., functioning within the conflict and bargaining model), successful linkages were few and far between. The project termed the LEA obstructionist while the school system saw the project as refusing to follow established guidelines, constantly interested in procedural shortcuts, and generally unwilling to accept the present routine as the way in which business was to be accomplished. The instances could be multiplied, but the point is made: implementation across organizational types presents significant obstacles in achieving inter-institutional collaboration. This finding is central to several of the recommendations made in the "Summary and Recommendations" section of this report.

THE RESEARCH AGENDA

YEDPA and Knowledge Development

Although the direct support for youth employment programs commands the bulk of YEDPA appropriations, improved knowledge development is of high priority. Indeed, the Congress authorized in the legislation that up to a full 20 percent of the YEDPA funding could be used for demonstration projects seeking innovative means by which to address the problem of youth employment. The first general principle of the YEDPA Planning Charter of August 1977 stated:

> Knowledge development is a primary aim of the new youth programs. At every decision-making level, an effort must be made to try out promising ideas, to support on-going innovation and to assess performance as rigorously as possible. Resources should be concentrated and structured so that the underlying ideas can be given a reasonable test. Hypotheses and questions should be determined at the outset, with an evaluation methodology built in (p. 5).

This emphasis upon new approaches and new strategies for addressing the persistence of youth unemployment came none too soon. As Mangum and Walsh (1978) have cogently stated, little or no systematic effort has been made over the past years to learn from previous efforts, either positive or negative. The decisions on what programs to instigate, what policies to pursue, and what objectives to seek have heretofore not been made. Their rather somber assessment includes much of what they understand to be in the YEDPA initiatives as well. They note:

> It is ironic that after 17 years of experimentation with employment and training programs for youth, Congress found it necessary to legislate activities and programs aimed at discovering the causes of youth unemployment and its potential solutions. It seems fair to ask whether the assumptions upon which past youth programs were based were faulty, or whether the programs themselves were poorly designed or mismanaged. Yet, aside from the research provisions of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA), the programs authorized by the Act are the same as those which have been implemented over the past 17 years--work experience on community improvement and conservation projects, institutional and on-the-job training, counseling, placement and other kinds of supportive services...Congress undoubtedly hoped that programs initiated under YEDPA would be innovative and would unearth heretofore untried techniques, but one of the criticisms of past programs has been that they have been almost exclusively experimental. Experiment has been piled upon experiment, but a concerted, overall policy for treating youth unemployment and transitional problems has never emerged (p. 11).

If Mangum and Walsh are correct in their assessment that "aside from the research provisions", little new or innovative could be anticipated from the YEDPA effort, then, of necessity, attention should focus on what the research sponsored by YEDPA might yield in the way of new insights or programmatic initiatives.

With the first phase of YEDPA funding in FY 1978, an ambitious agenda of demonstration, research, and assessment activities was implemented. The Knowledge Development Plan structured an array of discretionary efforts to address a number of the most pressing questions facing national policy makers (DOL, 1978). Within this 1978 plan were eight "first order" questions which needed to be answered to both design and implement the national priorities regarding youth unemployment. Of the eight questions posed, two are relevant to this present report. They are:

> 1) Can the school-to-work transition process be improved? Are new institutional arrangements feasible and warranted? Can new transition routes be created? (p. 3)

and

> 2) Are there better approaches and delivery mechanisms for the types of career development, employment and training services which are currently being offered? (p. 4)

It became apparent as YEDPA moved into its second fiscal year (1979) that a number of "second order" questions also deserved attention. For the most part, these questions were refinements and further clarifications of the original eight. They focused more specifically, for example, on targeting for sub-populations of youth, on isolating the effects of specific service components, and on comparing alternative delivery approaches. Seven such second-order questions were posed for the Fiscal Year 1979 effort. Three of these seven can also be addressed with this present report. They are (DOL, 1979:4-5) as follows:

> 1) What approaches and procedures can be used to involve the private sector in employment and training efforts and to increase the placement of the participants in private sector jobs? How effective are these approaches in accessing new jobs and providing better career tracks for youth?
>
> 2) How can youth programs be better integrated to improve administration and to provide more comprehensive services to youth? To what extent are the programs already integrated at the local level?

and

> 3) How can the lessons from knowledge development activities best be transferred to improve existing youth programs? How can the institutional change process be promoted?[1]

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[1] It should be noted that with this, the last of the Interim Reports, seven of the eight "first order" questions and five of the seven "second order" questions have been addressed in one or another of the four Interim Reports. If nothing else, the scope of this effort should suggest something of the ability of qualitative research to move beyond narrowly defined technical questions to broadly conceived policy issues.

The individual local programs selected for this demonstration project were slated to operate from between nine and eighteen months, specifically, between September 1978 and March 1980. Programs could include summer activities in 1979 if those activities were shown to be a logical extension of the school year program. They were funded from $15 million set aside by the Department of Labor for discretionary projects under the authority of the YETP legislation. The projected size of the youth populations to be served in the programs varied from a low of 35 to a high of 10,000. Sites were located across the nation in 31 states and in locations that ranged from rural to metropolitan areas. Individual grants ranged from approximately $175,000 to $400,000 with the average being near $300,000. Additional funding during FY 80 from the DOL has enabled Youthwork to continue approximately twenty-five of the original sites beyond their original termination dates as well as to add additional programs in two areas: the handicapped and the hard-to-reach.

The programmatic activities of Youthwork, Inc., are a direct response to the efforts by the Department of Labor to address key knowledge development issues. With Youthwork focusing on in-school youth and the manner in which the educational and CETA delivery systems are able to contribute to the resolution of the youth unemployment problem, there has been achieved that necessary concentration of resources "so that the underlying ideas can be given a reasonable test." The Youthwork knowledge development effort has predicated its endeavor upon the following assumptions:

--More is known about the intentions of innovative youth programs than about program operations,

--More is known about program outcomes than the processes that generated such outcomes,

--More is known of the reasons for program failure than for program success.

With these assumptions explicated, Youthwork formulated four knowledge development goals, each of which sought to address the imbalance described in one or more of the assumptions listed above (Youthwork, 1978):

1) To identify barriers to program implementation and how to overcome them,
2) To identify unique features within programs that most help youth to achieve program objectives,
3) To examine both the degree and direction in which participating institutions have changed, and how these changes took place,
4) To assess basic assumptions underlying both the policy and practice of in-school programs in helping youth make the transition from school to work.

To achieve these goals, Youthwork structured its knowledge development activities towards data collection and analysis in three areas: the central policy question of the respective roles and responsibilities of the educational and CETA delivery systems vis-a-vis youth employment and training; programmatic issues relating to the implementation and collaboration of approaches undertaken by individual programs in the four focal areas; and the local knowledge development issues unique to each program operator and community.

It is to aspects of the first and third of these data collection and analysis areas that this present interim report is addressed. This report focuses on the form and content of the linkages that were made between the project and other organizations and agencies. It seeks to not only identify these linkages, but to assess their utility in enhancing services to young people. It is important here to stress that the existence of linkages ought not to be taken as an end in and of itself. The linkages are a means by which to try more successfully to provide assistance to youth. Further, it should be stressed that we have not sought to examine the linkages as simply a "one-way" relationship. We have been concerned about interdependencies and interrelationships between organizations. The task has been one of attempting to sort out the reciprocities created by collaborative effort. Direct observation of program activities, both formal and informal interviews with participants in a number of relevant organizations, and the use of documents have all been employed to ascertain whether linkages existed, to what degree they were germane to the operation of the program, and what impact such linkages had upon the continued viability of the program.

Having said this, it is important to note that the findings reported in this interim report are based on the first eighteen months that the projects have been slated to function. As such, this report must be taken for what it is, an interim assessment of what we have come to understand about the patterns and substance of collaboration between the project, the local LEA,and the CETA prime sponsor. The linkages have undergone changes over time and we suspect they will continue to change as the programs mature, as the staff turnover declines, and as greater understanding of the CETA system permeates the LEA.

On This Report

The primary source of data for this report has been the materials produced by the individual on-site observers at each of the twenty-four reporting projects. These observers, with few exceptions, began their affiliation with the sites during the very first days of program start-up. Their field notes reflect the sensitivities that can come only from a long and in-depth involvement with their respective programs. It has been the task of the Youthwork National Policy Study staff at Cornell University to bring together the ethnographic notes, the materials from countless interviews, the extensive documentation, and the various numerical data as the basis for analysis. It is in this way that we have sought to describe the mosaic that is the Exemplary In-School Demonstration Project.[2] Together with these multiple forms of field data, use has been made of the MIS data system established by Youthwork. These latter data have been particularly helpful in allowing a melding of the descriptive data with various tabulations: number of participants, time in the program, projected target group enrollments, etc. The final thread weaving through this analysis is that of the extensive literature which has emerged with regard to youth unemployment in general and the YEDPA initiatives in particular. While little of this literature has been formally published in journal articles or books, the number of reports, conference papers, occasional papers, and federal documents grows almost daily.

Each of the chapters three through six report on a different program model within the Youthwork initiative. A number of analyses cut across these four chapters: the form of collaboration, its duration, the impact on each of the participating organizations, the consequences for the delivery of services to youth, and the relation of the linkage to the potential continuation of the project once the Youthwork sponsored funding ceased. Recommendations for the Department of Labor and for Youthwork, Inc. are included in a separate "Summary and Recommendations" section of this report.

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[2] A detailed account of the methodology employed for this study can be found in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY: THE APPLICATION OF ETHNOGRAPHIC TECHNIQUES

Introduction

In September 1978, Youthwork, Inc., requested a group of researchers at Cornell University to undertake a longitudinal ethnographic study of the entire cohort of funded projects. The Cornell effort, entitled the Youthwork National Policy Study began immediately to locate and train on-site observers for each of the projects. The first training session for observers was held in October 1978 in St. Louis, Missouri. Subsequent training sessions for additional observers were held in Washington, D.C. and in San Francisco. All told, observers were trained for 44 of the 46 operational sites. A second round of training sessions, to allow for necessary "mid-course corrections", was held in the spring of 1979. Training was also provided in May 1979 to observers from an additional seven sites added to the original cohort of projects. Yet a third round of training sessions was held for all observers in Atlanta, Georgia, in January 1980.

The first training sessions were used to acquaint the newly hired observers with the initial foci of the research effort and to examine the basic skills observers would need for their fieldwork. The emphasis was on describing how to triangulate data sources (printed matter, observations, formal interviews) and effective ways to acquire data that would contribute to answering the key policy questions. The focus of the spring 1979 training session was to further specify the issues to be examined in the remainder of the year. The session also dealt with particular problems encountered by observers during their first six months on their sites. A third emphasis was a review of the nature and strengths of in-depth focused interviewing. The January 1980 session accomplished several tasks, one of which was carried out for the first time at a training session. The Cornell staff provided detailed presentations to the observers of the analyses and findings that were to be incorporated into Interim Report #3. The subsequent discussion and critique by the observers provided valuable feedback and clarification that further sharpened the presentation of findings in that report. At the same training session, the observers were introduced to the Analysis Packet (see Appendix A) that was to provide the conceptual and methodological framework for this present report. Extensive discussions were held with the observers regarding this packet and the specific areas of inquiry within it. Finally, there were discussions at the January training session regarding the ethics of confidentiality, of further reporting of the material collected at the respective sites, and of means of collaborating with the third party evaluators also working at each site.

A significant departure from traditional ethnographic research was instigated with this present study. Rather than send the observers into the field and wait for the "emergent issues" to become apparent, time constraints as well as specific policy questions of concern to the Congress, the Department of Labor, and to Youthwork, Inc., necessitated the pre-definition of the areas of investigation. Six "analysis packets" have been written, each of which has focused on a particular area of study. The analysis packets have not specified how the data relevant to the various policy issues should be collected, only what were the areas of concern. As such, the packet provides the framework within which the data for this present report have been gathered.[1] Throughout the study, observers have remained responsible for determining the important events and activities at their respective project sites and for insuring that these events are faithfully reported in their field notes.

Perhaps more important to stress than the changes made within the methodology is the fact that qualitative research is being used at all. The application of this method to the study of the Exemplary In-School Projects represents something of a break from traditional approaches to the study of education and employment training. Rather than rely exclusively on the models of "input-output" evaluations, or those which stress summative approaches, Youthwork, Inc., has opted for a multi-method evaluation. It is employing both quantitative and qualitative approaches. In this manner, Youthwork has available analyses based on the study of social processes and day-to-day realities not amenable to quantification. Not all that should be known about these projects can be learned through mathematical formulas or standardized testing. An in-depth familiarity, a closeness to the staff and students, a longitudinal perspective that permits the observer to study changes and reactions to changes over time are all strengths derived from an ethnographic approach.

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[1] This is not to suggest that this report has been based exlusively on data collected with respect to the Analysis Packet. Material from other analysis packets has also been used when appropriate.

There is a growing consensus among those involved in large-scale policy evaluations that there is an important, indeed critical, role to be played by qualitative research. Too often in the past, the assumption has been made that statistical realities coincide with cultural realities. That this is not so has been the Achilles heel of many efforts at evaluating employment and training programs. Succinctly, to build from the ground up, one needs to know what is going on at the ground level. As Weiss had already noted in 1970:

> One hopeful direction is to place less stress on evaluation of over-all impact, studies that come out with all-or-nothing, go/no-go conclusions. More resources should be allocated to evaluations that compare the effectiveness of variant conditions within programs (different emphases and components of programs, attributes of sponsoring agency structure and operation, characteristics of participants) and begin to explain which elements and sub-elements are associated with more or less success. Such an approach produces data of interest across a wide range of programs and has high utility in pointing direction for further program development.

In reviewing a large number of studies of the utilization (or lack thereof) of program evaluations, Alkin and Daillak (1979) have concluded that the utilization of process evaluations is hindered by the attempt to translate complex and multi-dimensional variables into linear and discrete variables. Program persons themselves know this can destroy their program. Thus they increasingly tend not to place much reliance on such material. In the end, it is of little benefit to program operators and policy makers to have to rely on artificially created "clean" data in a complex and messy world. Alkin and Daillak also conclude:

> In a very real sense, there is another major finding of the study; an enhanced conviction on our part that naturalistic methods are the most powerful and appropriate methodology for the study of utilization (p. 49).

We would concur and suggest that the same would hold true for studies of program implementation and inter-institutional linkages as well.

What follows in this present chapter is a discussion of the methodology used in this research. The key points to be reviewed are the theoretical and empirical rationale for qualitative research, the various techniques employed, the manner in which the data were coded and analyzed, and the strengths and limitations of the overall approach.

I. Theoretical and Empirical Rationale

Many labels have been attached to the research strategy in which researchers directly observe human activity and interaction in a naturalistic environment. The earliest use of this technique was by anthropologists in their field studies of preliterate peoples. Malinowski (1922) labeled his technique of observing and participating in the various activities of a Trobriand village as "ethnography". He described his goal in utilizing this technique as follows:

> The field ethnographer has seriously and soberly to cover the full extent of the phenomena in each aspect of tribal culture studies, making no difference between what is commonplace or drab, or ordinary, and what strikes him as astonishing and out of the way. At the same time, the whole area of tribal culture, in all its aspects, has to be gone over in research. The consistency, the law and order which obtain within each aspect make also for joining them into one coherent whole.

More recently, Valentine (1968) has called for new ethnographic research to be conducted among various groups of North American urban poor.

He states **that** only through direct participation in the life of those being studied will there emerge an understanding of the structure of the society in which they live. Valentine contends that just as provincial judgments were made by colonialists concerning the peoples they encountered, so also provincial judgments are presently being made about the poor by middle-class social scientists. The provincialism must be overcome by sustained contact, which leads to acceptance and understanding of the internal logic of the group being studied. Valentine noted (1968:8-9):

> From the time of pioneer field workers onward, it has been recognized that prolonged, intensive, direct exposure to the actual conditions of life is needed to understand a previously unknown culture. This involves direct observation of social behavior and participation in community life as well as systematic questioning and discussion with informants. Only by this immersion in on-going group existence can the anthropologist probe thoroughly beneath the surface of a culture and replace superficial impressions with more accurate insights.

Dating back at least a half century, American social scientists have utilized ethnographic research. They have completed such diverse studies as those of industrial strikes (Gouldner, 1954); patterns of community organization (Hatch, 1948; Lynd and Lynd, 1928; Warner, et al., 1944); behavior in public places (Goffman, 1963); psychiatric interviewing (Scheff, 1966); clientele in stores with pornographic material (Polsky, 1967); development of racial identification (Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952); Whyte (1943) and his study of "Cornerville"; Henslin (1967) with cab drivers; and Bogdan (1975) to measure "success" in a poverty program.

In the employment field, Wurzburg (1978,1979) adopted a case study approach to provide an on-going picture of how prime sponsors were implementing YCCIP and YETP programs. The Work in America Institute (1978) used short case studies to describe private sector initiatives for the hard-to-employ, and the National Institute of Education recently funded the RMC Research Corporation to conduct intensive ethnographic evaluations of implementation efforts at four replications of the Philadelphia based OIC/A model of school-to-work transition.

II. The General Research Plan

The Youthwork National Policy Study chose the ethnographic approach because of its flexibility in design and execution and, most important, because qualitative data are most useful in capturing the processes and on-going problems and successes of program development and implementation. In addition, these types of data easily lend themselves to a formative feedback design essential to the improvement of employment and educational programs for low-income in-school youth. The field work has drawn heavily from the methodologies traditionally associated with anthropology, sociology, and social psychology.

Throughout the period of the field work, the field researchers, one at each of the sites, have functioned as ethnographers. Their overriding concern has been with describing and analyzing various critical dimensions of the project.

The complexities of implementing multi-task programs in schools are difficult to capture with straight interview data and/or survey questionnaires. The field researchers have been trained in the application of the traditional emic approach to field work. This approach dictates that the observer should ascertain the criteria that informants use to interpret and describe their own experiences. Variously described by other researchers as "folk system analysis", or studies of the "social construction of reality", the importance of the approach has been described by Ogbu:

> From this perspective the behaviors of any group of people in schools, churches, or political rallies are not governed by an "objective reality out there", but by the "reality" they experience and interpret. Most studies document the middle class interpretations of the universe of these people. Although the theories that emerge may be self consistent, they do not represent accurately the "realities" they attempt to explain.

Data Sources

Field researchers have used multiple data sources for their description and analysis of the in-school exemplary program with which they are affiliated.[2] The basic strategy of data collection is that of a triangulation of data sources, that is, to combine varying kinds of data from different sources (cf. Denzin, 1970). Data from diverse sources tend to be complementary because of their reciprocal strengths and weaknesses (cf. Rist, 1977). The basic research activities of on-site observers have been those which simultaneously combined document analysis, respondent and informant interviewing, direct participation, and extensive observation of the various facets of the local project. There was also the occasional opportunity to use data gathered by others at the site, such as third party evaluators.

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[2] An important error of omission must be corrected here. In the discussion of data sources in Interim Report #3, a citation to Fetterman (1979) was omitted. That citation should have also noted that materials, with only slight modification, were used in toto for presentation in four sections of the discussion: participant observation, key informant interviewing, informal interviews, and biographical case studies.

Participant Observation. The first of the pivots necessary for the triangularization noted by Denzin is participant observation. It should be stressed immediately that observational research is not of a single mode (Patton, 1980). Rather, what is available to the researcher is a continuum of options ranging from, as Patton notes (1980:127):

> ...complete immersion in the program as a full participant to complete separation from the program as a spectator; there is a great deal of variation along the continuum between these two extremes. Nor is it a matter of deciding once and for all in a study how much the observer will participate. The extent of participation can change over time. In some cases the evaluator may begin as an onlooker and gradually become a participant as the study progresses. In other cases the evaluation may begin as a complete participant in order to experience what it is like to be initially immersed in the program and then gradually withdraw participation over the period of the study until finally taking the role of occasional observer from an onlooker stance.

The goal of all this is to come as close as is possible to understanding the meanings and interpretations that the participants themselves give to their behaviors and environments. The key, embedded in the German term verstehen, is an empathic understanding and experiencing of the setting.

Such an approach is extremely critical to the present task of elucidating patterns of collaboration and linkage between two quite different social systems--that of CETA and the public schools. Each system has its own order and logic, its own rationale, procedures, and informal norms. For these two systems to come into collaborative relations has necessitated change and compromise. How that has been accomplished, how the implementation of the exemplary projects has been undertaken, and how each views the goals of the effort have been foremost on the research agenda of the YNPS. The findings culminate in this present report. To achieve such an understanding has necessitated countless hours of observation/participation by the on-site observers. To move "back stage", as it were, to learn how each system has viewed the other, how each has sought to maximize its own self interests, and how compromises and accommodations were achieved could only be done through an extensive period of close-in familiarity gained from observations and participation in multiple facets of each of the two systems.

What has lent additional credibility and validity to the research findings in this present study was that the observers who have been in the field have not been "outsiders" introduced in some "hit and run" fashion to the programs. They have been, almost without exception, local persons familiar with their community. Their living in the community, their availability for participation in programs both during the day and in the evening, their ability to change schedules to accommodate important events and occurrences at the site, and their longevity as observers have all been important contributors to the rich and detailed observational notes produced at site after site.

The Interview. The second pivot in building a comprehensive and in-depth understanding through qualitative research is the use of interviews. As with observational research, there is no single mode, but a number of strategies and they, too, fall along a continuum. At one end, there is the option of asking the same questions in the same manner and same sequence to multiple individuals. This is the most standardized and structured of the interviewing techniques available. Toward the center of the continuum are those interview strategies where one has the option of either asking the same set of questions, but in a sequence deemed appropriate to that particular instance, or alternatively, posing the questions in the same sequence, but in varying terminology appropriate to the respondent at hand. This "mixed mode" of interviewing allows considerably more flexibility to the interviewer to ensure that the interview (which in qualitative research ought to be considered as but one of multiple conversations to be held with the respondent) succeeds. At the other end of the spectrum are those interviews/conversations that are neither structured nor standardized. These tend to be situation/incident specific, exploratory, or most often used when the respondents vary considerably by education, experience, and interest.

A further consideration when involved in interviews is the relation of the interviewer and respondent. If the relation is a long-term one where the respondent is serving much as a "key informant" to the observer, it is likely that less standardized and scheduled interviewing would be necessary or appropriate. The key informant becomes a person against which interpretations, assumptions, hunches, and only vaguely formulated analyses can be checked. The key informant often provides, as it were, a "reality check" for the researcher in the field. Alternatively, if the relation is less developed, if there exists more social distance between the interviewer and respondent, then a more standardized and scheduled interview would be appropriate. The "rush to informality" that often occurs in interviewing--a rush that is frequently not reciprocated by the respondent--was an item cautioned against several times in the training of the on-site observers. Finally, for those members of the organization who are only vaguely or not at all known to the observer, a formalized questionnaire is considered most appropriate. This approach was suggested as a means of making contact and beginning in a tentative and neutral way the basis for further conversation.

Written Documents. Field researchers obtain copies or make abstracts of all written records pertinent to their exemplary program. Such records, the third pivot, have included evaluation reports, memoranda, announcements, internal communications, non-confidential assessments of student performance, formal contracts of association, newspaper clippings, and the like. Also, the actual learning packets, textbooks, supplementary reading materials, assignments, and performance contracts used in the various projects have contributed to an understanding of the system. They have been used as well to document the instructional practices used at the different sites.

MIS Data. One aspect of the multi-method approach being used by Youthwork, Inc., to evaluate the Exemplary In-School Programs has been to collect certain standardized data across all operational sites. This has been done through the use of a Management Information System (MIS). Data collected from each site in this system include number of students enrolled, number of students who have successfully completed the program, the percentage of predicted student population served to date, the size of staff, and a host of demographic variables about the individual students. These data have been made available to the YNPS and have been incorporated into this and other reports.

Data Transmission. Three forms of data have been produced by the on-site observers. The first is a copy of each and every protocol generated by the observer during any data collection endeavor, be that effort one of interviewing, observing, or the collection of written materials. These are gathered together by the project director and staff at Cornell so as to maintain a continuous monitoring system of field-produced material. To date (July 1980) approximately 2,200 such protocols have been produced and mailed to the YNPS Cornell office.

The second form of data transmitted from the on-site observers have been brief (3 to 5 page) analytic narratives written in response to questions sent by the Cornell staff. The questions have been generated as a result of new areas of study and analysis opened up by the field work. They have also been generated to address specific dimensions of the key policy questions particular to the present analysis packet.

At the end of the data collection period specific to this last of the analysis packets, the on-site observers were also asked to provide an "analytic summary protocol". This protocol was essentially an effort by the observer to summarize their own reactions, understandings, and interpretations of the various key areas outlined for investigation in the packet. Moving through the packet item by item, the observers provided an integrated summary of their own data collection efforts over the past four to five months. Though this present instance was the first time it has been used in conjunction with the YNPS, it has proved extremely successful. Considerable material from these summaries has been incorporated into the chapters that follow.

Organization and Analysis of Field Notes

Systematic and analytical observations depend upon the recording of complete, accurate, and detailed field notes. On-site observers have been charged with recording their observations as soon after witnessing an event or an interview as possible. Field researchers were cautioned that using mechanical devices such as tape recorders for the recording of events tends to inhibit spontaneity and candor. Unless otherwise agreed upon with the individual site observer, no mechanical devices have been used during on-site observations. During the research, training sessions were held at which observers were instructed in styles of note taking and the manner in which the field notes were to be converted into protocols. These protocols are the key data source for the subsequent analysis. One copy of each protocol remains with the field observer and one copy is sent to the YNPS Project Director. All protocols are read promptly by YNPS staff. There has been close contact between YNPS staff and on-site observers. The YNPS staff requests additional data to correct omissions, resolve contradictions, and clarify ambiguous statements while the material is still fresh in the mind of the on-site observer. Additionally, other kinds of strategies or activities to be observed may be suggested to provide data needed to answer particular probing questions. Sample protocol pages from two on-site observers are provided on succeeding pages. (The protocol pages were selected from sites no longer operational in order to maximize anonymity and confidentiality.)

Distilling these voluminous files of protocols has required a series of coding and editing steps. Code sheets have been developed to coincide with each of the analysis packets. Reading the protocols and categorizing the data by topic has been undertaken by the YNPS staff and done according to a framework necessary to answer the key policy questions. Further, this effort has allowed for a standard conceptual framework to be applied across all field sites. In the past, multiple

name of researcher:
date of observation: 7/25/79
subject of observation: Interview w/student
site of observation: School
protocol #: 43

page 1 of 2

____ has been in the program for about three months. She has been attending the school for a little longer than that--about 4-1/2 months. She found out about the program and the school through her parole officer. She was given the choice between coming to the school and going to classes at ____. She chose this school because the classes are smaller here and because of the program--"the teachers are cool here. They take the time. If you have a hard time learning something or if you have a problem, they will help you with it." During the summer she is working for the newsletter of this school. She is in charge of the section of the paper called "Job Haves". She writes articles on where different people work, what their jobs are about and how they like it. They are going to be published in five newsletters this summer. She and the other students in her newsletter class like the work they are doing and will be continuing it this fall.

She is currently on lay-off of her job. She had worked there for several months assisting the medical personnel pulling charts, taking phone calls and stocking medical supplies. She liked the work but did not like the staff she worked with. She had disagreements with her supervisor about the clothing she wore when she was on the job, leaving the job early, and coming in late--"I felt like she was picking on me. I think I'd rather work someplace else besides the health clinic. It's too hectic." She also told me that she would prefer something closer to her home. She mentioned that the staff at the health clinic was small and that they didn't have the time to train her properly. Sometime in the near future, she will be meeting with her supervisor and a staff person from the school to work out some of the problems she had there. She doubts very seriously that she will go back. She feels very strongly that her supervisor was not fair with her. She thought it was unreasonable of her to request that she not wear short-sleeved blouses--"The other girls wore them, but she didn't yell at them."

She didn't get into the program immediately after her enrollment in the school. There was some confusion over whether she was eligible or not for the program. It took about six weeks for her certification to go through. During that time she took the orientation class that is required before placement in a job.

The credit that she was getting for her job placement was very important to her. She plans on com-

name of researcher:
date of observation: 3/2/79
subject of observation: Interview with Prime Sponsor Personnel Overseeing the Current YETP Youthwork Program
site of observation: Prime Sponsor Office
protocol #: 26
page 1 of 10

The following is an interview requested by Dr. on inquiring upon the relationships between CETA and the school.

Question: Where does the program interface with CETA?

Response: Up to now, we have been serving two different groups. The groups are almost identical but they (referring to youthwork program) draw from referrals addressing more troublesome students. We serve the same type of population, but not the same kids and they provide a broader range of services than we do. ("They" is a reference to the youthwork sponsored program. "We" refers to other youth programs sponsored and conducted by the prime sponsor.) After the recent meeting (he is referring to the meeting between youthwork, prime sponsor staff and program staff.) We will have established a direct linkage between other youth programs and the program. The reason for the direct linkage is that exemplary program had start up problems and difficulty in reaching the projected number of students and our other CETA youth programs have had difficulty in obtaining academic credit for our participants. By establishing concurrent enrollment between a couple of our youth programs the youthwork program will provide a broader base and more services and hopefully we will align the prime sponsor and the school district more closely and this relationship will continue after the current program.

Probe: Is one of the main reasons you suggested the concurrent enrollment with the youthwork program was to establish a precedent for academic achievement? (Explanation: In the meeting of February 16 found in Protocol Number 20, it was suggested that students currently enrolled in a YETP Program conducted at the local high school would be transferred to the rolls and be paid from their money for the first 100 hours and in addition to that the program would provide a job coordinator and classroom instruction and the students would receive academic credit for the classwork and on-the-job training.)

frameworks applied to multiple sites have often detracted from the ability to generalize and develop recommendations.

Validity

The validity of naturalistic case study material depends greatly upon the manner in which the data are recorded, the sensitivities of the field researcher, and the quality of the analysis of the data. There are at least three sources of validity for naturalistic data that are applicable to the present study: ecological (external) validity; phenomenological (internal) validity; and contextual validity. In naturalistic research, the data are considered to be valid if they reflect or describe what actually is--what has occurred, what conditions exist, what interactions have taken place, etc.

Ecological validity means that the setting is accurately portrayed. If the account of the activity faithfully describes the setting in its natural form, then the report is ecologically valid. Field accounts must preserve the integrity of the natural setting. It has been a key task of the project director and his staff to continually monitor the field protocols for authenticity between the data and the setting.

Internal validity is achieved within naturalistic research when the descriptions of the events, situations, and interactions among actors are such that they accurately reflect the perceptions and intentions of the actors themselves. An observer seeks to understand how those who were involved interpreted what they and others around them were doing. The goal is to present material in such a way as to enable readers to understand "from the inside" why actors behaved as they did.

Contextual validity comes from the accurate capturing of the "natural business" of the actors in the setting so that to an outsider reading the report, the rhythm and routine of the setting become apparent. The descriptions of the setting should "ring true" to those who participate in the setting. At the same time the fullness of description should make pertinent features of the setting understandable to outsiders.

III. Strengths and Limitations of the Data

The major strength of the data that have been collected is derived from the longitudinal nature of the research design. The single most apparent weakness in most research efforts attempting to document and analyze program implementation is that they lack a sufficient longitudinal perspective (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1979). A number of studies have utilized what could more aptly be described as a cross-sectional approach, in contrast to studying the program in question over time (cf. Rossi and Wright, 1977).

Another major strength of the data is that long-term participation in a social system allows an observer to become sensitive to the subtle nuances that have meaning only to those within the system. A weakness of quantitative designs is that they assume that behavior can be abstracted and measured accurately. The abstraction from various scores and test results can only give indication of output, not of process. Long-term participation in a social system permits the observer to understand the processes that occur.

A basic epistomological assumption underlies the selection of direct observation as the primary research strategy employed in this study: that direct observation can make positive contributions to the study of the context of human and institutional behavior. The approach seeks to bypass the "fallacy of objectivity" and move directly to an experiential involvement in the setting. Further, given that reality is "socially constructed", this approach generated an account of the behavior relatively independent of the interpretations drawn from that account.

The observations at the sites were necessarily selective. However, observers were instructed to look for situations that would contribute data to an analysis of the key policy issues. They were encouraged to vary both the day of the week and the times of day when they visited sites. This strategy was designed to collect data over a whole spectrum of issues and over the entire time span of the program. A limitation of this approach is that not all events and activities could be covered. Thus, there was an imperative for continuous visits to the site in order to gain over time a perspective of what constituted the "typical" or "normal" patterns of interaction.

Another limitation was the blanket promise of anonymity to those observed and interviewed. Particular methods of data collection had to be evaluated in light of whether it would insure protection to those involved. In promising all site personnel they would remain unidentified, they were assured that statements made by them would not be reported to their superiors. This consideration resulted in the loss of one important form of data. Data could not be reported if they would have given strong clues as to the identity of the site or respondent involved. The YNPS continues to believe in the appropriateness and correctness of this approach.

IV. Patterns of Collaboration: The CETA/School Linkage

This report is the fourth in a series of interim reports produced by the Youthwork National Policy Study. It is also anticipated to be the last such report. The most intensive data collection period for this report was undertaken from January through June 1980. However, certain data and subsequent interpretations in the report are based upon the cumulative experience of the study since September 1978. The projects reported upon here have been operational since that 1978 date or later. Of the 51 projects where there has been an on-site observer, 40 projects have now been operational for 15 months or longer. It is also the case that the vast majority of the on-site observers have remained continuously with their respective projects since their earliest beginnings. Indeed, in several instances, the on-site observers have remained constant while the projects have played "musical chairs" amidst their staff. At one site, the observer was the only original senior staff person still on board only six months into the program.

The focus of this report is to detail the form and content of the various linkages that the projects have made with the CETA system, with community-based organizations, with other youth service projects, with other components of the educational system, and with the private sector. The goal is both to describe the emergent linkages and to assess the impact of these linkages upon 1) the delivery of services to youth, 2) the ability to better coordinate and plan programs, 3) the presence or absence of duplication of services, and 4) the reciprocal impact of the new exemplary programs upon other components of the social/organization network within which the programs have had to operate. An effort is also made to assess which linkages appear most critical to the programs at different stages of their development. Finally, the impact of these linkages upon the "survival capacity" of the projects is described.

CHAPTER THREE

ACADEMIC CREDIT FOR WORK EXPERIENCE

This chapter examines the interinstitutional linkages developed by or for the Academic Credit for Work Experience (ACWE) projects. The ACWE projects have been formally and informally linked with several other organizations over their two years of operation. Funded as new YETP in-school demonstration projects by Youthwork, Inc., in the fall of 1978, these social intervention programs have undergone a process of program stabilization through the establishment and integration of interinstitutional linkages over their period of program operation. Discussing the evolution and integration of new social intervention programs into the pre-existing institutional structure, Spencer (1970) explains:

> It is unrealistic to assume that such a system will be integrated from the outset; but, rather, one can expect that the new organization will develop within the environment of social conflict wherein

> power becomes defined, ideological differences are accommodated and a viable process can be developed (Spencer 1970: 121).

The processes developed by the studied ACWE projects to become operational and stable social intervention programs involved the development and sustenance of two different types of interinstitutional linkages. The linkages were developed by or for the projects to accomplish their mutual goal of addressing one aspect of the national youth employment problem: the lack of coordination of services between the institutions of education and labor. The two linkages developed to sustain and stabilize the ACWE projects were: (1) funding source monitoring linkages and (2) program operation linkages.

The first set of linkages, funding source compliance linkages, was developed for the ACWE projects to serve the purpose of program expenditure and service monitoring by their funding sources; Department of Labor monies channeled through an intermediary organization, Youthwork, Inc. As explained by Eklen and Lauffer (1972):

> The practitioner is rarely a free agent. Regardless of value or ideological commitments, or skill or expertise, much of his work is determined by the _contexts_ within which he practices. Conceptual components include: (1) the auspices under which he operates - the legitimating and sponsoring body, (2) the source of financial and other support, (3) the purpose of the organization for whom or on whose behalf he acts, (4) the target of his intervention, whether a population group, organization or service network, (5) the internal structure of the organization within which he works, and finally (6) the locus at which his intervention is pitched - the neighborhood, the local community, the state, and the like. Together, these components constrain and limit the _scope_ of his activities, and give him the _mandate_ for his actions (Eklen and Lauffer, 1972: 5, italics theirs).

Thus, the compliance monitoring linkages were developed for the ACWE projects to serve the first three purposes outlined above by Eklen and

Lauffer (1972) and set the primary context of program operation and inter-institutional linkages. The second set of linkages was developed by the ACWE projects, to fulfill the last three of the above program activities, all of which relate to the actual delivery of services. Before the ACWE projects could deliver services to youth, the programs had to identify the locus of their intervention, which included such activities as identification of the target population, work sites, and other community resources. For each of these activities a set of institutional linkages was created by the projects. In this capacity, the ACWE projects operated as community organizers and local change agents.

Corresponding to the service delivery and program operation activities, there was a linkage created by the project's funding source to assure program accountability. Excepting the program operation activities of career exploration through classroom or field trip experiences and the delivery of comprehensive services, all ACWE project service delivery operations had a project-monitoring component built in by their funding sources. The important distinction between project activities which were monitored and those that were not was the difference between a formal or informal linkage. For all accountability linkages the interaction between the projects and institutions was formal. In the case of career exploration and comprehensive service delivery, the linkages established by the projects were informal. Throughout this chapter this distinction is important to note as a means of understanding how the various linkages existant at projects functioned. In Table 1 below is shown the service delivery activities of the ACWE projects with their associated linkages: operation activities and compliance monitoring.

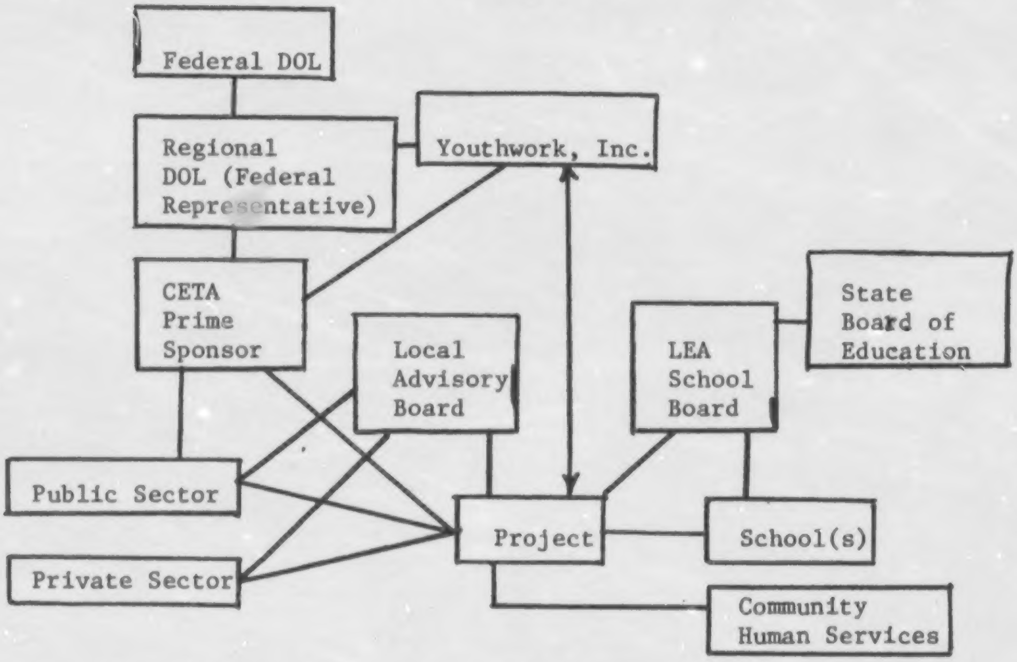
TABLE 1

ACWE Projects Program Activities and Their Relationship to the Delivery of Services and Compliance Monitoring

Operation Activities	Delivery of Services	Compliance Monitoring
·Identification of target population	·Enrollment of target population	·Certification of youth eligibility ·Correct enrollment/terminations ·Fiscal expenditures
·Identification of work sites	·Placement of youth at work site ·Provision of work experience and career exploration	·Fiscal expenditures ·Legality of sector placement ·Legality of wages ·Legality of hours ·Compliance with child labor laws
·Identification of youth academic credit needs	·Provision of learning experiences: remedial education and work	·Fiscal expenditures ·Client's academic record
·Identification of community resource persons	·Exploration of careers, classroom and field trips	
·Identification of other services needed by youth	·Other community and social services obtained	
·Identification of project service modifications	·Proposed change in services	·Legality of proposed changes

The institutional linkages established to implement and sustain program operations and their corresponding funding source compliance monitoring activities involved a number of different organizations. The organizations the ACWE projects formally or informally interacted with are diagrammed below. This interinstitutional linkage model represents the basic organization contacts the ACWE projects developed or sustained.

Figure 1: ACWE Projects Interinstitutional Linkage Model


Federal DOL
Regional DOL (Federal Representative)
Youthwork, Inc.
CETA Prime Sponsor
Local Advisory Board
LEA School Board
State Board of Education
Public Sector
Private Sector
Project
School(s)
Community Human Services

This chapter is organized according to the functions institutional linkages served for the projects. Different sets of organizations were involved with the projects depending on the purpose of the linkage and the phase of operation of the projects. The compliance monitoring linkages will be discussed first, as these were continuous project-institution linkages existant throughout the operation and the projects. The remainder of the chapter will focus on the linkages the ACWE projects created to operate their programs and deliver services to youth. Before these findings are presented and discussed, background information on the ACWE projects will be presented.

Description of the ACWE Programs

Academic Credit for Work Experience was selected by Youthwork, Inc., as one of four programmatic areas designed to implement innovative approaches to the problems of youth unemployment. As a national policy concern, providing academic credit for work experience was chosen as a primary focus area because:

> Some students are so discouraged by past schooling experiences that they find it difficult to learn skills through traditional academic routes. Providing credit for work experience can be the key to encourage some of these youth to continue their education. In general, it is believed that work-education linkages can improve both the work and learning experiences. Although a number of schools in the country have programs that award credit for work, few programs successfully interrelate the education and work experiences. Schools need to take advantage of the fact that many jobs offer opportunities to stimulate learning (DOL Application Guidelines, Exemplary Program, 1978, pp. 14-15).

The academic credit projects were designed to help economically disadvantaged youth make the transition to the work world by providing youth with work exploration and placement in the public and private job sector. As an incentive to participate, to help them economically, and to **simulate** real work experiences, they receive minimum wage payment for their job placements. Additionally, the participating youth are awarded academic credit for their participation. This second dimension is an inducement for the target population, potential dropouts or dropouts to remain in/return to school and to graduate. The ACWE projects offer a gamut of services to youth: psychological, educational and vocational testing; career education guidance counseling; remedial education; job readiness skills classes, career exploration; and job placement.

Program Characteristics

Nationally, there were 11 projects funded by Youthwork, Inc., for Fiscal Year 1980 as a means to examine various approaches to the provision of academic credit for work experience. Five of the projects are extensions of previous programs, and six are new programs. The projects are located primarily on the East Coast (n=5) and the South (n=4) with the remainder in the North Central (n=2) region of the United States. Population densities where the projects were located ranged from major metropolitan proportions to rural areas with populations of less than 10,000.

The academic credit projects varied greatly, although they had in common the basic feature of awarding credit for work exploration/ experience. Two of the projects were postsecondary programs (one was affiliated with a community college and the other with a state university) and involved young adults aged 18-21 years old. The remaining projects served a 14-19 year old population. These latter nine projects were located in a variety of settings: three were in self-contained alternative schools, one was a public nonprofit project located at a site other than a school building, and four projects were physically located in school buildings. Three of the projects also cut across these categories. One had seven high school sites and a community college site, another had sites at both alternative and traditional high schools, while a third had both an alternative school and a public nonprofit site. The size of the target population to be served ranged from 38 to approximately 700 youths. Table 2 provides a summary of project site characteristics.

TABLE 2

ACADEMIC CREDIT FOR WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

Project	1975 City Population[a]	Number of Project Sites	Where Conducted	(10/01/78-09/30/79) Actual/Projected Number of Students to be Served[d]		Program Status[e]
A	rural	1	PNP	44/38	115.8	Extension
B	636,725	1	AS	70/80	87.5	New
C	25,842	1	In-school	105/90	116.7	New
D	378,112	5	3 In-school & 2 AS	251/727	34.5	New
E	381,042	1	In-school	164/160	102.5	New
F	1,815,808[b]	1	In-school	64/80	76.2	Extension
G	339,568	1	AS	108/102	105.9	Extension
H	665,796	2	AS	100/87	114.9	Extension
I	381,042	1	PSS	77/79	9.75	New
J	rural	9	1 PSS & 5 In-school	64/56	114.3	New
K	rural	1	In-school	45/57	78.9	New
L	8,000,000^{+}	2	PSS & LEA	50/50	100.0	Extension

[a] Source: County and City Data Book 1977: A statistic abstract supplement, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1978.

[b] Consolidated city--county population figures.

[c] PNP = Public nonprofit program
AS = alternative school
PSS = post-secondary school

[d] Source: Blackstone Institute MIS reports, 12/16/80.

[e] New programs are defined as programs created by Youthwork, Inc. and programs defined as extensions are programs which evolved from previous funding sources.

Sample

Five of the eleven ACWE projects composed the sample used in this report. Of these projects, two were projects funded under monies before Youthwork, Inc., funding was received in the fall of 1978, and were located in alternative schools. The other three projects were newly created under Youthwork, Inc., funding. Two of these were located in a Local Education Agency (LEA) school building and the third was located off the LEA school grounds. All five projects served a secondary-aged population, and one project in addition served a post-secondary-aged population. On-site observers were active at these five projects throughout winter-spring 1979-80. The other six ACWE projects were not used in this study as they either did not receive continuation funds for this fiscal year (n=3) or they lacked an on-site observer for part or all of Fiscal Year 1980 (n=3).

Data Analysis Methodology

Three different data collection methodologies were utilized at the ACWE project sites to provide the information presented and analyzed in this chapter.

Trained participant observers, located at five of the eleven projects, provided three forms of data for this report. The first method used by the participant observers was transcription of their program's operations and interactions based on a focused analysis packet (see the methodological chapter of this report). Over 800 pages of focused on-site observation data were generated in the form of protocols by means of this method. This information was crossvalidated through a comparative analysis of several thousand pages of protocol data provided by the on-site observers at ten of these projects during Fiscal Year 1979. This second historical data collection activity was used to obtain a longitudinal perspective on project operation and as a means to triangulate the research findings.

The third method employed by the five on-site observers was narrative summaries of their perceptions of the characteristics of their project's program organization. This third data methodology was especially useful as a means of triangulation of findings, as it provided a means to cross-validate the researchers' conclusions from the protocol data by comparison with the on-site observers' impressions.

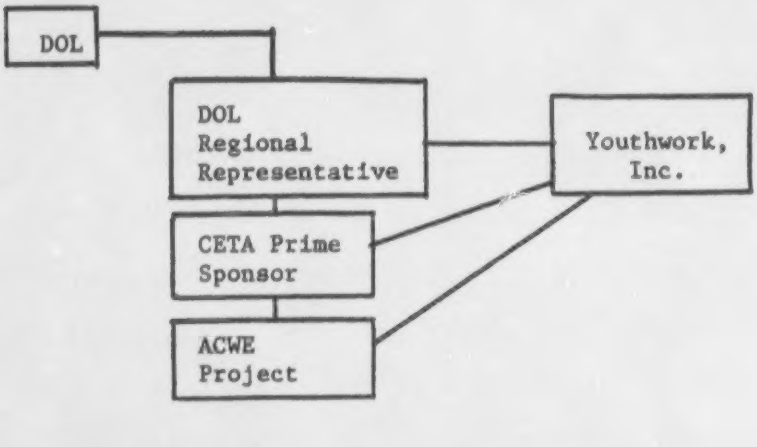
FINDINGS

I. Compliance Monitoring

Linkage description

Program monitoring of the ACWE projects was the responsibility of three organizations, the regional DOL representative, the CETA prime sponsor, and Youthwork, Inc. It was a formal linkage between the projects and these organizations and served as the means to assure compliance with funding source and federal regulations. The schematic diagram of the linkage from the ACWE project perspective is as follows:

Figure 2: ACWE Project Funding Source
Monitoring Linkages



The purpose of these linkages was to monitor the project's fiscal expenditures, client population CETA eligibility, and project enrollment levels. It functioned to assure compliance with YETP federal rules and regulations, project proposal specifications (which included client termination projections and services), and budget expenditures or modifications.

The project fiscal monitoring linkage was closest between the CETA prime sponsor and the project. From the project's perspective, the regional DOL representative and the federal DOL rarely, if ever, had any direct contact with the ACWE projects. An observer at one project reported:

> In line with our focus on interagency cooperation or lack thereof, I asked the project director about his relations with the federal DOL representative. He said there really is no contact. The relationship between the federal rep and the prime sponsor was so good that there was no need for the DOL federal representative to get involved in specific local programs (February, 1980).

Youthwork, Inc., was also involved in the compliance monitoring of the ACWE projects. Monthly reports and project information was sent first to the CETA prime sponsor and then to Youthwork, Inc. Two client and project information forms were required through this process. CETA had developed one project monitoring form, whereas Youthwork, Inc., had designed a similar, but distinct form. When special information was requested by Youthwork, Inc., from the project, the material was sent directly to Youthwork, Inc., and bypassed the CETA prime sponsor. Such requests were for information to use for the knowledge development research endeavor.

In all, the ACWE project fiscal accountability linkage was complex, involved a number of different interest groups, and was often unclear as to who had final authority over the ACWE projects. As stated in a summation of a third party final evaluation report verbally presented to ACWE project and CETA personnel,

> The third party evaluator offered some ideas about the overall administration of the projects nationally and raised some questions about who really is in charge. All of the projects seem to have the expected school system and CETA political considerations to contend with which happens when a couple of bureaucracies get together. The question of where Youthwork fits into all this, however, arises. The city can be answerable in terms of either clout or loyalty to the regional labor representative and then on to the Department of Labor in Washington or it can be answerable as prime sponsors to Youthwork for the business of knowledge development and project administration. There are many examples of directives from Youthwork which were later withdrawn because the Department of Labor did not want them for some reason. The whole question comes down to who really calls the shots (January, 1980).

Linkage functioning: compliance monitoring

The relationship between the prime sponsor's office and the ACWE projects was critical to project administration. At all of the five ACWE projects, the linkage between the prime sponsor's office was continuous throughout their 18 months of operation and entailed paperwork flow and feedback on fiscal monetary and project operations. On this primary level of communication between the two parties, three of the five the ACWE projects experienced difficulty maintaining the prescribed level and quality of project reporting to the prime sponsor's and Youthwork, Inc.'s offices. The amount of reporting required, the constant change in forms (particularly Youthwork, Inc.'s), and project staff frustration over duplication of information and the amount of time spent on reporting all contributed to the problem of difficulty with required reporting. As noted in an earlier report (YNPS, 1978: 68) this has been a problem for projects since implementation. An on-line ACWE staff person said two years ago:

> There is too much time spent on paperwork. The program is losing its focus as we spend hours on forms. When can we see the kids? (Fall, 1978).

After two years of operation, one CETA prime sponsor expressed the same frustration that projects had expressed over the project-required paperwork. From this prime sponsor's perspective, the amount of paperwork required detracted from his potential learning from the project's service delivery experiences. He expressed his disappointment with his linkage with the local ACWE project as follows:

> There has just been so much involvement in nitty-gritty detail. Just in counting pennies. We have never even cleared up all the reporting problems. We could have at least worked on that.
>
> The observer continues, "We talked about the complexities of the reporting process, how much time is still spent on reporting and how much of this time is spent on useless duplication."

The solutions to the reporting problems worked out by, or for, the three projects was important in easing paperwork flow and administration. One ACWE project, after a year and a half of problems with the required forms, reported:

> When all those people were here for the new grant negotiations one of the staff from the local manpower office said to me 'How do you do all these forms alone? Why don't you get some help?' She suggested I write another person into the grant for part-time to help me, and I did (February, 1980).

The two projects which were not experiencing problems, but which expressed frustration with the reporting procedures and complexities, had also alleviated the problem by having a person assigned to this job and allotting enough time to the task. Of the three experiencing reporting difficulties, two alleviated the paperwork problem during their first year of operation (fall 1978), whereas the third project found this solution in January 1980. Therefore, after two years of operation, three projects were able to take care of the reporting requirements by assigning and training a person specifically to do project forms reporting.

At the two other ACWE projects, a more unique solution was found. One ACWE project staff person who was in charge of project reporting, discussed the solution these two projects found. The on-site observer summarizes his discussion:

> He was explaining to me the different types of terminations and that there were different categories for CETA and for Youthwork. He is responsible for these forms, and has found that the termination categories are useless. According to the Youthwork forms, there is really no way to classify a negative client termination; they are all positive terminations. He explained that even an administrative termination where the project throws the kid out can be classified as positive. What you have to do is wait a few months after the kid is out, call his home, and if you find that he has found a job, then give him a placement category as a positive termination. Similarly, if you have too many positive terminations in any one quarter, then you hold off a quarter on reporting. (April, 1980).

Both of the projects which had begun to "creatively" work with their reporting forms did so after much frustration. All the ACWE projects studied felt acutely that what they were asked to report was not what was important about the project. The difference between the project's, Youthwork's, and CETA's ACWE program goals and concerns was perceived to be quite large by the projects. The following synopsis of a conversation between the observer and a project staff person clearly demonstrates the problems all the projects experienced with the reporting and the monitoring of their programs.

From the perspective of the CETA offices, three prime sponsors interviewed on this subject were also unhappy with the project monitoring process. All felt they had expended more staff time on these projects than their other youth programs and for fewer information returns. Similar to the projects complaints, these prime sponsors had expected more recipocality and sharing of information for their extra expenditure of time on the projects. Speaking to the project-CETA liaison person, the on-site observer summarized:

> She emphasized again the point that had been made in an earlier meeting with the project director, that there had been much more paperwork for this project than any of their other projects, although the ACWE project represents only a small percentage of their total funds (February, 1980).

Although the CETA prime sponsors were provided administrative overhead costs for project monitoring, three of the primes had expected, in addition to this money, knowledge development information. Two prime sponsors specifically were unhappy that they did not receive any useable information to guide their planning for future funding of projects. One prime sponsor discussed this issue with the ethnographer:

> The project is doing things and getting responses and reactions all of which seems natural to the project and so they think there are no reasons to record what is happening. But we would be better off if we had some documentation of all of this so we could all understand what is going on out there. Like how they have worked out the academic credit arrangements. There is just nothing in writing (April, 1980).

Beyond the different perceptions of project goals, and as a consequence what projects should be held accountable for, there has been little feedback to the projects from the CETA and Youthwork offices. This has been perceived as a problem by the projects. With the amount of time the ACWE projects have spent on reporting, four projects have felt they have received only minimal response from the prime sponsor. One project director said:

> The amount of time spent on filling out forms has been overwhelming. Our main contact with the CETA office has usually been in regard to paperwork. We would like more direction and feedback from the county, but the CETA liaison person always seems to be too busy with the administration and monitoring of other grants (March, 1980).

> The project staff person in charge of reporting went into a lengthy discussion of the business of plan vs. actual for the reporting process. He said in the first place, the local CETA office had decided on the numbers without consulting them and now they find themselves stuck with those numbers. Worse than that, he found it difficult to understand why they considered it bad if they went over the numbers in the plan, if it meant doing something better for the kids, like finding more kids jobs in the private sector than they had expected to find. He got called down to a meeting in Washington and was called on the carpet for diverging from the project's plan so much. He said he finally came to understand that the concern was not at all with what this meant for the project, but rather what it meant for the economic planners at CETA who had set those figures. It was really an evaluation of their predictive abilities and not what was going on with the project. So although he thought it crazy, what he had to do was change the numbers in their plan so that the actual numbers would not diverge more than 10-15 percent. (Then of course, he became much more astute about playing with the numbers so it would look like they were right on target.) (April, 1980).

After two years of a formal linkage between the local prime sponsor and the ACWE projects at four projects out of five, there was concurrence by both parties that there should have been more reciprocation and sharing of information. The contact between the offices necessitated by project reporting requirements affected program administration in terms of the amount of time spent on these tasks, but program services were not disrupted by this process. Summarizing the project's compliance monitoring process, one observer noted: stabilization of the project occurred despite the enforced (and consequently artificial) linkages the project was "stuck" with. Accountability has to be based first on the parties agreeing to the same objectives for the projects, and as it was, different interest groups had different definitions of what the project was about.

While project staff time was sometimes taken from the delivery of services to complete paperwork, staff interviewed at all five projects did not feel this reporting linkage detracted from their program. This was because all projects had worked out some kind of solution to the overwhelming amount of required forms. It was only an administrative problem. One on-site observer reports on a conversation she overheard:

> Both the project director and the staff person agreed between themselves that the cooperation or noncooperation on the part of other agencies with which they were connected did not make any difference in what they were able to give students. It just made it more pleasant to them as administrators and professionals when things went smoothly (January, 1980).

Linkage description: Identification of Project Service Modifications

While the enrollment, budget, and services information linkage was a continuous one between the project, CETA, and Youthwork, Inc., special channels were developed for project modifications. The first linkage was between the CETA prime sponsor's office and the project. Usually the CETA person assigned to the project (either the CETA Youth Program Coordinator, the YETP liaison appointee, or another CETA person) was first approached by the project director. If arrangements satisfactory to both parties could be reached (i.e., the request was not in noncompliance with CETA regulations) then the prime sponsor was notified and the requested change implemented. If there was disagreement between the CETA person responsible for the program and the project, then the CETA prime sponsor and his/her aides met with the project director and discussed the matter. If an agreement still could not be reached, Youthwork, Inc., was contacted by the project director to mediate with the CETA prime sponsor and regional DOL representative. At this point, whether a project modification could be implemented depended on a number of factors, such as the DOL regional representative's opinion (which the CETA prime sponsor would usually solicit), the prime sponsor's interpretation of the CETA rules, or the prime's position of authority vis a vis job security.

Linkage functioning: Proposed changes in ACWE projects

The quality and functioning of the relationship between the prime sponsor and the projects were most evident when the project requested program modifications. While the biweekly, monthly, quarterly, and annual reporting linkage between the prime's office and the project consumed time, it usually did not reflect on the quality of the linkage or its functioning ability. Project requests for enrollment level, sector placement, or budget changes were one of the tests of the linkage, and the results of the changes requested were idiosyncratic. Several different factors impacted on the outcomes of a requested duration from the project's plan, proposal, or CETA regulations. Three of the ACWE projects requested major changes in their program plans, and each encountered different outcomes.

In all three cases, part of the problem was a conflict between their Youthwork, Inc., program and CETA regulations. None of the parties involved, the project, CETA, or regional DOL representative, either understood what 'demonstration' project meant or had different definitions of the term. Consequently, there was ambiguity as to which, if all, CETA regulations the projects should comply. An on-site observer summarized a CETA liaison person's discussion of the issue of demonstration status and misunderstandings:

> The CETA liaison person said she did not think the federal representative really understood Youthwork and the meaning of being a demonstration project. She said every time she talks to him she has to explain it all over again. He recently suggested that if there was money left over from the project they should spread it around to other projects, or start a new project like

> the ACWE project. She realized then that he did not understand again what the award was all about (March, 1980).[1]

At two of the ACWE projects there were budgetary problems because of CETA regulations and processes being different from the Youthwork, Inc., funding and budget expectations. In both cases the regional funding DOL representative made the project (through the prime sponsor's office) conform to CETA regulations. A local CETA officer was observed to say:

> It is too bad that the project had to function under the restrictions set by the federal rep, who he went on to say, never really understood what the whole project was all about from the beginning. One of the weaknesses was that Youthwork had not laid the groundwork better with the people from DOL and specifically the federal regional representative who had so much power over the prime. Much of his complaints had to do with pointing the finger at the DOL representative, at that level of the bureaucracy and their lack of flexibility (March, 1980).

Other factors, beyond CETA regulation inflexibility or interpretation by the DOL regional representative, influenced program modification outcomes. In one instance, severe personality clashes between the project director and the CETA prime sponsor representative curtailed program operation. The observer on one site summed up the results of the relationship as follows:

> In any case it seemed clear from early on that given its best interpretation, the prime was not going to allow any degree of flexibility in interpretation of the grant and the CETA regulations. For example, the project director argued for a few weeks time to assess the students being enrolled before placing them on a job. The prime insisted that a student was not considered enrolled until he/she was placed on a job. This in itself might not have been a problem if the prime had not demanded that the project live up to expectations of enrollment figures as described in the original proposal. The original proposal, however, was predicated on a beginning date of July. As it turned out, the director was not hired until mid-October and a full staff was not on board until the end of November. The prime's position was 'you contracted to do this by this date in your proposal.'

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[1] NOTE: At one ACWE project the money left over from FY 79 was distributed to other local CETA projects.

> There was also confusion at this time over which intake forms should be used, the regular CETA forms or the new Youthwork forms. When the project director noted that much of the enrollment problem was the result of the late start-up date, which put them in a position to heed certain modifications on the original proposal, the CETA director wrote on the project's monthly report "The DOL allows no modifications during the first quarter of any plan. The prime sponsor will be unable to allow the modification of enrollment as requested by the school district." (January, 1979).

The result of this relationship was near defunding of the project owing to start-up first quarter low enrollment figures in the winter of 1979. A change in the project/CETA liaison person has helped the ongoing project CETA relationship, but the project in its second year was still operating under some of the earlier CETA person's restrictions, such as taking county holidays instead of school holidays (which means a full-staff turnout and no students). This was enforced because the project was on the county, rather than the school district's payroll.

At the second of the three projects that requested program modifications, the problems caused by lack of flexibility by the prime sponsors (under the regional DOL's auspices) also impacted on program services. Because of unique city funding procedures, one project did not receive its continuation funds for over four months after their Youthwork, Inc., award.[2] Again, this was attributed in part to Youthwork's misperception of local funding regulations and rule inflexibility. Summarizing the prime sponsor's description of the problem, the observer's notes read:

> Although Youthwork thought they were funding the project they were in fact funding the city to fund the project. So once the award notice came from Youthwork (and he said although they had been told over the

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[2] NOTE: This was the second year in a row that funds were held up for the same reason.

> phone of the contract award, could not go to the board with just a phone call message) then the city had to put out a competitive bid notice and this process takes two months. Youthwork does not seem sensitive to this kind of local level problem at all. Then they had a problem writing up a new contract for money left over from the first year under Youthwork continuation funds. The city does not write contracts for more than one year, even though Youthwork had funded the project for eighteen months. It had to go through the competitive bid process again and the money was held up again (February, 1980).

The result of this process was that student ACWE participants were not paid for their work placement time for over four months. The students were unhappy about this, and the employers complained that it was unfair to the youth, since they continued to work without receiving their weekly pay. As was recorded:

> The private sector employer wanted to pay the youth directly since they were not getting their pay because of the problem of CETA releasing project funds. The job developer said he spoke to the employer and tried to explain the situation, but the man was angry because the youth was not performing well because he was mad about not getting his pay (February, 1980).

Another aspect of the problem concerning difficulties in obtaining project modifications was that prime sponsors at these three projects were sensitive and responsive to political pressures. Being closely monitored by the DOL federal representative and local politicians, the prime sponsors were loath to allow less stringent interpretation of the CETA rules and regulations as they feared loss of their job or public humiliation. One observer related the problem that applies to these three cities:

> The project director explained a bit more about the political connections of the CETA director and how he thought everyone was 'covering their -- ' at a time of closer fiscal scrutiny (January, 1980).

Indeed, the politics of the CETA system played a major role in the decision-making process at all three projects trying to renegotiate their contracts. At the third project, program services were only temporarily interrupted because the project director did not attempt to push his modifications. A politically astute administrator, the project director circumvented a potentially large start-up problem by accepting CETA regulations and assaying CETA by turning over complete budget control to their liaison person. In turn, aside from routine monitoring, the director maintained control over daily program operation and services.

In summary of the relationship between the ACWE projects and the prime sponsors' offices, excepting program modification requests, the linkage was formal and involved mainly routine project reporting. One prime sponsor said:

> The county takes pride in having two national demonstration projects. They command attention by their nature. However, many other youth projects are monitored through this office and the unit has been understaffed for some time. Personal contact with the projects is minimal, usually restricted to reporting concerns and problem solving which results in a somewhat formal administrative relationship. We do provide technical assistance on request (March, 1980).

II. Service Delivery

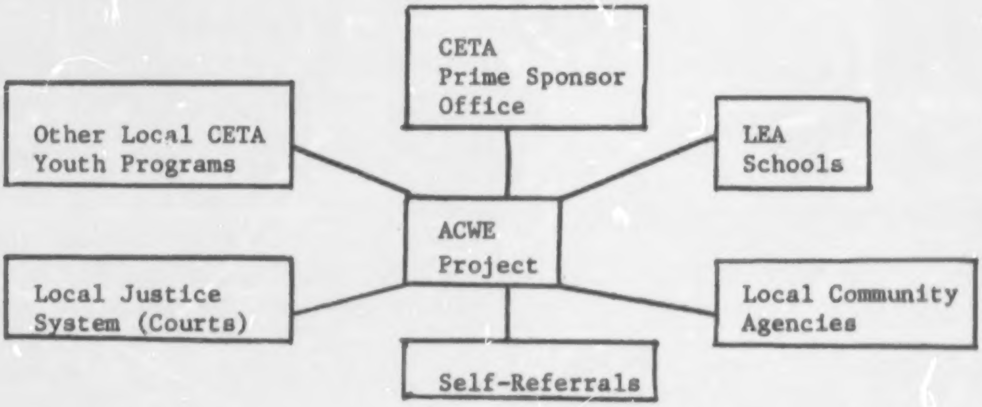
Enrollment of Target Population: Linkage Description

The linkages developed for the identification and enrollment of the target population (CETA income eligible youth 14 to 21 years old) depended on the length of time the ACWE projects had been in existence previous to Youthwork, Inc., funding and on where the projects were located. Of the five projects studied, three were newly created through Youthwork funds, and two had been in existence under other funding sources for a number of years prior to Youthwork, Inc., funding. Both the new and old projects came to rely on similar sources for youth referral, but older projects initially had many more local contacts and sources of student referral than did the new projects. During the first year of operation (fall

1978) the older projects did not engage in as many outreach activities as did the newly created projects.

Project location also affected program enrollment activities. Projects physically located outside or in an LEA school building (n=3) also engaged in more outreach activities than did projects located within an alternative school. The effects of project location on enrollment activities were difficult to analyze as the alternative school projects were also the older programs. With these differences in mind, a flow chart (figure 3) summarizes all five project's client referral linkages.

Figure 3: ACWE Project Target Population Enrollment Linkages


CETA Prime Sponsor Office
Other Local CETA Youth Programs
LEA Schools
ACWE Project
Local Justice System (Courts)
Local Community Agencies
Self-Referrals

Overall, the LEA school system was the largest source of ACWE client referrals. Initially, for three new projects, contact was initiated by project staff, who approached LEA guidance counselors for potential youth clients. By the project's second year of operation, the referral process was reciprocal, the LEA guidance counselors initiating contact to discuss a potential client they had identified.

At the other two ACWE projects, which were located in alternative schools and had been operating for a number of years before receiving Youthwork, Inc. funds, the referral process relied on fewer project outreach activities. The outreach linkages developed by the older projects were similar to the ones used by the new projects. Referrals to the older as well as second year projects came from a diverse number of sources, such as local social service agencies, the courts, friends of enrollees, and the LEA. The CETA offices responsible for these programs rarely referred youth to the projects, although they did help determine eligibility and sometimes a local CETA youth project would refer youth applicants to the ACWE programs.

Enrollment of Target Population: Linkage Functioning

To identify and enroll the target population, ACWE projects relied on both the LEA and CETA institution. The CETA linkage was created for and maintained by the five projects for certification and processing of youth participants. This was CETA central office activity. As described by an ACWE director:

> We have a close working relationship with the local manpower office. They certify all our students. We give the students an application to fill out and then the student and parent must appear at Manpower. Then Manpower hand-carries the form back to us. We fill it out and mail it back to the Manpower office (April, 1980).

This project's CETA office contact is not usual in that the other four projects determine eligibility themselves and mail in the forms. Manpower then either signs off on the forms, helps the project correct them, or denies certification. The CETA prime sponsors office does not make many, if any, referrals.

For referrals of potential youth clients, other local youth manpower programs began referring youth to the ACWE projects when they had too many applicants or felt the services offered by the ACWE project would better serve a particular youth. So other CETA projects, rather than the prime sponsor's offices, did make ACWE project referrals. One ACWE staff person explained why another CETA youth program person referred some youth for the ACWE project:

> It has been useful to her to have another program to which she can refer students, especially one where they can make more money. The students she refers are often those most in need of more money. (March, 1980)

Help with enrollment of the target population did not initially come from other CETA youth programs. This was a link established after the program had been in operation for at least six months. For the three new ACWE projects, the first linkage established was with the LEAs. Identification of potential enrollees was sought initially through contacting the LEA guidance counselors and asking for referrals through obtaining names of potential clients.[3] School guidance counselors were the first LEA persons contacted by ACWE personnel to find potential participants. These LEA personnel are the ones responsible for and in possession of complete records on LEA youth. LEA teachers were not contacted, nor were the school principals contacted. The school principals were involved only to give permission for the ACWE projects to contact the guidance counselors. One staff person, responding to a request by the ethnographer to have names of teachers so as to discuss the project, stated:

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[3] See YNPS 1979: 35-38 for referral sources from the participant's perspective, where ACWE participants were found to have used LEA guidance counselors as their main source of referral.

> Why would you want to see the teacher? I really do not have any contact with the teachers as the guidance counselors take care of everything. They work out which courses the students will be released from and make arrangements with the teachers. (March, 1980)

The contact and support of the LEA guidance counselors was important as a referral source. According to the observer, for one ACWE staff person,

> Her contact at the school is with the guidance counselor. The school did not participate last year in the project and this year they have a new guidance counselor who is really supportive of the project. There was just a project vacancy and there were fifteen applicants this time. Last September we only had three apply from this school and we had to take them all. (March, 1980)

The reaction of the LEAs and their guidance counselor staff was different at each of the three projects. At one project, the ACWE director was well known in the school district and had the power and authority to get quick compliance and help from the LEAs. At another project, the director of the ACWE project was also a well-known LEA affiliate, who solicited school support from principals, but referrals were made by project staff initiating contact with the LEA guidance counselors. The ACWE director at this project did not engage in as much LEA public relations as did the first ACWE project's director. Possibly as a consequence of this, the latter project had more difficulty in getting help and referrals from the LEA guidance counselors. The on-site observer explained:

> Another major barrier to cooperation with schools was the lack of commitment from those who were to implement the program. When the grant was awarded, the director solicited commitment from the principals, and expected that the rest of their staff would fall in line. (April, 1980)

Enrollment levels were obtained differently at the second project than at the first in-school project, as local conditions were different.

This second project was able to find participants relatively quickly because of the extreme poverty in the area. Through word of mouth and community contacts, this project located more eligible youth than they could serve. Consequently, although this project initially tried to get referrals mainly through the schools without getting much entry support, they were able to identify potential clients through the community. This project, like the third new ACWE project, had difficulty gaining the support of the LEA guidance counselors during the first year of operation. An on-site observer summarized a director's comments on the referral process:

> In the beginning when the project was hurting for kids to recruit, some of the agencies under CETA had drawers full of names of kids who needed help. Similarly, the school personnel and guidance counselors knew of potential youth. Yet no one went out of their way to introduce the director and the program so that others could refer students to her. Consequently, any connections the director made were made by herself. The principal of the school could have taken her around and introduced her to the faculty but he did not. This year she is on the school's mailing list and attends school meetings and this had helped because new people who did not know about the ACWE project last year are now referring kids. She also contacted the local coalition of youth programs and made good connections there. Now she is getting referrals through people she met. (February, March, 1980)

While community visibility through the ACWE directors' personal contacts and program advertising has helped the three projects obtain full enrollment levels, at two projects an additional referral incentive has been program "success." Again, referrals were from the LEA guidance counselors after the projects' first year of operation. As one ACWE staff member discussed feedback to her from the LEAs:

> The single thing I hear most from teachers and guidance counselors is how much the students have blossomed and they really have, too. It is just amazing. (April, 1980)

Now that the three projects created in the fall of 1978 have been operating for almost two years, their referral linkages are similar to the two programs that had been in existence much longer. Outreach activities and word-of-mouth advertising has put all five projects in the position where they receive referrals from a number of sources. One ACWE staff member described the sources of their enrollees:

> We just took a youth referred by the police chief. He has been so fantastic that we took his recommendation on a student. And some of the job sites recommend people too. And occasionally we get a walk-in. (March, 1980)

Identification of Work Sites: Linkage Description

The interinstitutional linkages established by the five ACWE projects to identify and place youth participants at a work site were similar, inspite of differences as to where the projects were allowed to place youth. Two projects were restricted by CETA regulations to placement in the public sector, whereas the remaining three ACWE projects could place participants in either the public or private sector job market. (Originally only two projects could place youth in the private sector but before start-up a third was also allowed private sector placements. This ACWE project contacted the State Department of Education and obtained a waiver from the state restrictions on private sector placements. They were granted this waiver based on their experimental status.)

The linkages created by the projects to develop job slots for work placement of youth were established by project outreach and public relations activities. The CETA prime sponsor's office operated to monitor the placement of youths in the appropriate job sector and make sure the projects were following their proposed plans.[4] Conformance to federal child labor laws was also monitored for one project by the State Department of Vocational Education. The other four ACWE projects were not observed to be monitored by any other institutions to assure compliance with child labor laws, although project directors were cognizant of the laws and regulations.

Advisory boards were either created by the projects or utilized by the projects if a local youth board was already in existence. Two ACWE projects created a youth advisory board, and three made use of pre-existing local youth manpower planning boards. In all cases, the advisory boards operated to sanction project activities or to "sign off" on project plans and were not involved in creating job slots. One board created by an ACWE project to help with community employment contacts and community visibility, never met. These boards were composed of employers, local politicians, manpower planners, and school system personnel. While boards were approached or created by the ACWE projects to increase local visibility and recruit businesspersons to obtain job slots, only the former activity was accomplished. New job slots were not created through the advisory boards.

The two projects that placed youth in the public sector only developed slightly different linkages, although the results of their activities were the same as those projects who could develop private sector job slots. For the projects limited to the public sector, there was some communication with other local CETA programs on available public sector job slots. In both cases, although for different reasons, this linkage did not create job openings for the ACWE participants. At one project all the CETA-developed job slots were being utilized, but in the other community the CETA program directors feared placement competition and would not share their job slots. Therefore, the public sector ACWE projects developed outreach activities to obtain job slots similar in design to the three projects that could place youth in either job sector.

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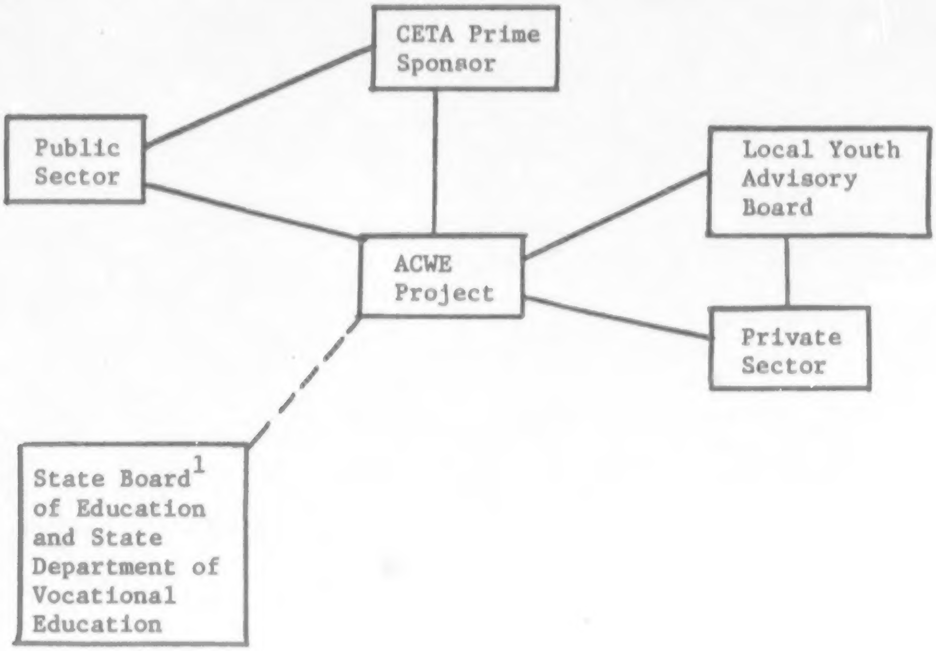
[4] NOTE: ACWE plans specified what percentage of youth placements would be in the private or public job sector.

The diagram in figure 4 details the interinstitutional linkages created by the ACWE projects to develop job slots.

Figure 4: ACWE Projects Work Sites Linkages


CETA Prime Sponsor
Public Sector
Local Youth Advisory Board
ACWE Project
Private Sector
State Board[1] of Education and State Department of Vocational Education

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[1] Limited to two ACWE projects.

Identification of Work Sites: Linkage Functioning

The five ACWE projects used the personnel of four organizations to develop work placements for their participants. These were public and private sector employers, local advisory boards, and, for two ACWE projects, other local CETA project personnel. The CETA prime sponsor's office and in two cases, the State Department of Education, monitored project activities to assure compliance with CETA regulations, ACWE project plans, and, for the State Vocational Education Department, compliance with federal child labor laws at one project and waivers for private sector placements at another. CETA and the State Department of Education did not help with the development of work sites for the ACWE projects, but rather monitored their activities.

Only two of the linkages sought by the ACWE projects functioned to develop job slots. These were the public and private sector employer linkages developed by the projects on a one-to-one basis. All of the five projects assigned certain staff the responsibility of contacting and initiating communications with potential employers. ACWE directors acted carried out public relations by creating or attending pre-existing youth advisory boards. Depending on the ACWE director's personal friends and contacts, the directors also approached potential employers to develop ACWE program work slots and employer cooperation. The main responsibility for creating and sustaining employer cooperation and work sites was with ACWE project on-line staff.

Initially, the ACWE project directors either created or joined a local youth advisory board in response to funding source's RFP guidelines.

Although directors may have hoped for employers' job slot commitments from these boards, in practice the boards served to sanction the ACWE projects' activities and goals. They also served to increase community or other youth program awareness of the projects, but tangible results of advisory boards in terms of jobs has not been in evidence. One observer reports:

> I asked the director about his governing board. He sort of laughed and said in effect that they were taken and created to satisfy funding agencies who felt there should be such a board. The director said he probably should be happy that they are not involved in making policy. The board meets every month, and its members are community people, previous students, old project staff members, community agency people, and some parents of students. I asked if they helped with finding jobs or other funding sources, and he said no, but he wishes they would. (February, 1980)

Acting as social organizers and community change agents, the project staff worked to solicit local business support. Initially, the three new projects had to spend more staff time in finding job placements for their students than did the two older programs. But for all the ACWE projects this has been an ongoing activity as more sites are needed to meet increased enrollment levels, different interests of youth, and loss of old work sites.

The disincentives for employer participation appear to be more numerous than are the incentives. Included among the employer disincentives reported by on-site observers for placing YETP youth participants at their place of business are the following:

- Negative image of CETA program (reported at three projects).
- Negative past experiences with CETA participants (reported at two projects).
- Not enough time for supervision (reported at four projects).

- Fear of federal scrutiny of business practices (reported at two projects).
- General problems with economy (reported at two projects).
- Too much paperwork (reported at three projects).
- Prefer adult CETA workers (reported at one project).

These disincentives occurred idiosyncratically for both public and private sector employers, although the public sector job market had had more previous CETA program experience.
Public sector employers often refused to participate because past experience with the CETA participants had made them feel they could not adequately supervise the youth participants. Private sector employers would find this out and then withdraw their job slots. Also, public sector employers reported more negative past CETA experiences than did the private sector employers. A possible explanation for private sector employers having more positive experiences with the YETP youth is that the three projects which used both sectors placed their best participants in the private sector slots. More caution and careful matching between youth and jobs occurred for private sector placements than for public sector job slots.

Two different strategies were employed to overcome both the private and public sector's hesitation to participate in the ACWE project. The most common strategy, employed by all five ACWE projects, was public relations and appealing to employers' sense of altruism and humanitarism. This and the financial subsidy of youth wages were the two largest incentive for employers to participate. Public relations included calling employers and discussing what the employer could offer the participant in terms of learning and experience. Along with this was discussion of how the employer would be helping the youth and contributing something good to society. One project made a point of trying never to tell the potential employer that the program was affiliated with CETA. All projects either tried to dispel employers' notions of CETA programs or to downplay this aspect of the program.

Once a job site was secured and a youth placed at the business or organization, continued support of the program by the employer was accomplished by ACWE staff monitoring of the placement. This was not always successful, but where a placement was made that was satisfactory to the employer and the youth, a further incentive was created to maintain employer program participation. Positive placements, where the youth showed up for work on time, dressed appropriately, and were able to accomplish (at least minimally) the assigned tasks were incentives for the employer to continue participation.

Identification of Youth Academic Credit Needs: Linkage Description

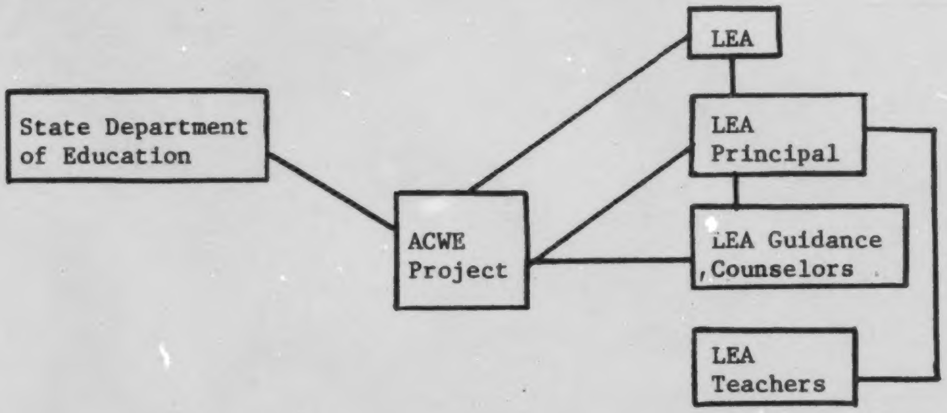
The linkages developed by the ACWE projects to determine the academic credit needs of their youth participants were similar to the interinstitutional linkage developed by the projects to identify potential project enrollees. LEA guidance counselors were the persons first approached by ACWE project personnel to determine both potential enrollees and their academic credit needs. At the two alternative school projects, transcripts of youth were obtained from the LEAs for new enrollees; and for past program participants, state guidelines were followed to design their credit programs. At one of the alternative schools, the linkage with the LEA was only temporary while a student was simultaneously enrolled in the ACWE and school's program. For the three new projects, LEA contact was an ongoing process as these projects had to coordinate their programs with the LEAs. This occurred because the ACWE participants, with few exceptions, were enrolled in and taking credit courses at both the LEA schools and ACWE projects.

At one new ACWE project, a second linkage was established during their second year of operation. This was the inclusion of LEA teachers at three of their target schools becoming aware of the ACWE project. Initially, the LEA guidance counselors arranged the academic credit services for youth with the ACWE project without consulting teachers. By the second year of operation, at least one school out of five at this project was knowledgeable about their students ACWE participation. At the other two new ACWE programs, the teachers were made aware of the project from the outset, but never were as supportive of or cognizant of what was being taught to their students as was the first described school district. Entry into the school district, as discussed under the enrollment section, was through LEA principals being contacted by the ACWE directors.

The state annually monitored the two alternative schools. They were not involved in ascertaining the academic credit needs of particular students, but did check on the overall school's credit offerings. Only one of the alternative schools had actual contact with the State Department of Education over the past year. The other alternative school was monitored by its LEA affiliate or parent organization. For both schools, the design of credit arrangements for ACWE youth participants was a project internal affair. The state, although the sanctioning authority for the LEAs at the three other ACWE projects, left program design and control to the LEAs.

The linkages developed by the five ACWE projects for the determination of youth academic credit needs are as follows:

Figure 5: ACWE Project Academic Credit Determination Linkages



Identification of Youths' Academic Credit Needs: Linkage Functioning

The linkage of the five ACWE projects with the accreditation authorities varied by with whom the project was affiliated. The three projects affiliated with an LEA used different linkages than did the two alternative school projects. Although one of the alternative school projects was affiliated with an LEA rather than the state, this program operated similarly to the other alternative school. For both alternative school ACWE programs, there was little or no input from the LEA or State Department of Education on their credit services. Evidence of the "sign-off" quality of this relationship occurred at one of the alternative school projects when the regular State Department of Vocational Education monitor was sick for a day. As the on-site observer explains:

> The ACWE staff person told me about a problem with the State Vocational Education people. Apparently the program had not been complying with the law about 14 and 15 year olds working at certain job sites. Certain placements were not allowed, and the program had gotten away with it for years because the State Voc Ed people had just routinely filled out the working papers. It seemed the clerk at the State Department of Education knew about the program but was sick for one day so the

> new clerk assigned to the project called the State Vocational Education Department to get an answer to a question and blew the whistle on them. So the State people came to the project and the project had to take some kids off their job sites because they were too young. Another requirement was that one of their staff be a certified teacher. Only one of the staff persons was certified as a vocational education teacher and had taken a course in career education. So they gave this teacher a probationary status. He did not know how much they would push for accreditation for the staff, so he thought he would just wait and see. The more serious problem was that the Voc Ed people want the project to assign grades to the students for their work which the project staff are vehemently opposed to. The project is just concerned with credit and time (February, 1980).

At the three new ACWE projects the determination of participants' credit needs was a more complicated process. Arrangements for the amount and type of credit to be awarded ACWE participants were made by negotiations between the LEA guidance counselors and ACWE project staff. This occurred when youth referred to the ACWE projects by the LEA guidance counselors were determined eligible and in the process of being enrolled in ACWE. One participating LEA guidance counselor discussed how she determined potential ACWE candidates and why she circumvented a linkage with the LEA teachers:

> I always look at the student's permanent records, their aptitudes, things like that and see what they need. And if they do not need required courses, then they can take career education through the project. I think career education is great, but the teachers do not always understand. No one could explain this program to all sixty teachers. They could not understand themselves without going through the program themselves. (April, 1980)

For program operation, circumventing a linkage with the LEA teachers did not affect what credits ACWE participants receive. The effect, rather, was a political one as the teachers resented being left out of something they felt was within their jurisdiction. An observer asked an LEA guidance counselor what the LEA teachers thought of the program:

> Some of the teachers resent it. They are afraid the students will not get as much from the program as in class. You know, that could not be further from the truth. The kids in this program have already shown that the only thing they get out of school classes is F's. The teachers do not want to admit that someone else could succeed with these kids where they have failed. (April, 1980)

Acceptance and support of alternative experiential education programs was why LEA guidance counselors would refer youth to the programs and make credit arrangements. The incentives to the LEA teachers, after the program's first year of operation, was based on partial acceptance of alternative education, and more importantly, relief at getting "troublemakers" out of their classrooms. An LEA guidance counselor, when asked the teachers' opinion of the ACWE program said:

> At first they were skeptical. 'Why should a person work and get academic credit?' But after they understand it, they like it. Sometimes they like it because they are able to get rid of certain students this way. They can use the program to get these students out of their classroom. (April, 1980)

The political climate created by not initially linking ACWE students' credit plans with the LEA teachers was the main reason teachers began to be contacted more often by the LEA guidance counselors during the second year of operation. The LEA teachers were contacted by the ACWE staff to design ACWE students' curriculum. This occurred most often when ACWE participants were taking required courses through the project. But this contact occurred after the student and project were given permission by the LEA guidance counselors to receive credit in a certain area. The change in operating style by including teachers in students' ACWE program plans helped the project's linkage with the LEA. One LEA guidance counselor explained:

> The program is definitely much smoother, more accepted this year. We sat the teachers down and assured them it was not the same as a past experiential learning program which was disliked. We like this program and have pushed it. (April, 1980)

LEA teacher program involvement was thus a linkage important to the project's acceptance at the LEA. For ACWE participants to receive academic credit for project participation, the important linkage was support from the LEA principals. As described in the enrollment section, the LEA principal was the project's entry point, and cooperation from LEA guidance counselors, who were the staff persons responsible for the youths overall academic experience, was the most important linkage for the designing and accessing of the youths' credit needs. LEA guidance counselor project support came as a result of directives from the LEA principal. Further, they were not adverse, as were the LEA teachers, to this linkage because they supported experiential learning programs and were not threatened professionally by such a program. They were also asked by the principal to participate and had discussed the program fully with them, whereas the teachers were not involved in ACWE program discussions. After two years of operation, teachers were not as opposed to the ACWE programs as they came more fully to understand the program, and had the added advantage of having disruptive students removed from the class.

Identification of Community Resource Persons: Linkage Description

All five ACWE projects developed informal linkages with community persons as part of their service delivery design. Persons knowledgeable about different careers, work habits, interpersonal skills, or other employment skill areas were sought by the projects to give seminars to or field trips for the youth participants. The linkage was established on an informal basis by the projects staff persons. An informal network of friends and acquaintances were used by the staff to contact and solicit persons to help with the career exploration component of their program. In some instances, the contact was formal, being initiated by project staff when they heard of a potential resource person. The advisory boards at three of the ACWE projects helped locate resource persons or volunteered themselves. Aside from these instances, the contact was based on the community's informal network of friends and professionals.

Guest speakers and/or field trips were initiated by the ACWE project staff and relied on community friendships. All different types of community resource persons participated, ranging from military personnel, college staff, and big business to veterinarians and small business persons.

Most of the services requested or offered were free to the projects. Thus, the linkage worked well as the project and the resource person could work out a satisfactory schedule based on friendship or altruism. The only difficulties experienced by the projects were when transportation was needed for field trips or when payment of the resource person was requested. In both instances, the problem involved releasing budget funds for these endeavors, as happened at three projects. One project had transportation problems because the LEA bus they were loaned for these activities only operated during certain hours. This scheduling problem was circumvented by staff volunteering to drive the youth themselves. At another project, which did not have a LEA bus for loan, the original field trips were cancelled and possibilities no longer explored because of lack of funds for transportation costs. At the third project, the change in budget items has not yet been requested from the prime sponsor as of May 1980.[5] These two problems to some extent did affect all the projects, as their career exploration activities had not been budgeted as a line item, or the costs were not correctly projected. Hence, when a community resource person was identified who charged a fee or necessitated transportation costs, the projects, which did not identify these costs in their proposal, would not have the necessary funds.

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[5] Two of these projects had surplus funds after their FY 78-79 operation period. For these two projects the problem was obtaining the release of funds through a project plan modification (via the CETA prime sponsor). The third project had transportation arrangements through the LEA, but had not forseen the scheduling problem.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter were presented and discussed two different types of linkages the ACWE projects created or had created for them. Both of these linkages were designed to facilitate the delivery of services. The first set of linkages developed by the ACWE project's funding sources was created and sustained to obtain service delivery accountability. The other set of linkages, developed by the projects to enable them to act as social intervention programs through the delivery of services to youth, was created to identify community resources to fulfill participant and program needs. Based on an anlysis of the functioning of these two types of inter-institutional linkages, the following conclusions applicable to the ACWE programs are drawn:

Compliance Monitoring

- Both ACWE project personnel and their sponsoring CETA organization staff experienced routine paperwork flow problems. From the project perspective, the reporting problem was alleviated by two different means: 1) assignment of a trained person for project reporting, and 2) becoming insensitive to reporting requests through reporting whatever the funding source seemed to want to hear. In this latter situation, the phenomena of too much funding source administrative concern for case reporting and product oriented goals resulted in alienation of the project from their funding source and consequently, intentionally faulty reporting (see Spencer, 1970: 150 and the National Commission for Manpower Policy, 1978: 26 for a discussion of the problem of accountability procedures predicted on program inputs rather than program outcomes in terms of a disjunction between the means and the ends. The result of such a process, as discussed by the above authors, is hindrance in program operation and service delivery).

- Because so much paperwork was involved in routine project reporting to funding sources, both the projects and the funding sources had expectations on returns for their extra work. As there was little or no reciprocal feedback, both the projects and their CETA prime sponsors were disappointed with their interaction. Both parties expected feedback on program operations and service delivery techniques.

- The ACWE projects and CETA personnel responsible for the programs were unclear as to the program designation of "demonstration status." This created two problems: 1) program modifications requested by the projects were difficult to obtain as CETA personnel held the projects responsible to YETP regulations, and 2) both parties had raised expectations for feedback on "program success." In the former situation, innovative changes deemed necessary for the success of the project were either not requested or implementation of requested changes took months. Even when requested changes were implemented, they went through regular CETA channels and were in compliance with YETP regulations. CETA political considerations and accountability pressures took precedence over innovation because the ACWE projects status as "demonstration" was not understook by either party.

Service Delivery

- All service delivery operations were implemented through the ACWE projects operating as community change agents. Programs which had been in operation for several years had an easier time with entry into the community than did new ACWE programs. After two years of operation, the three new ACWE projects had integrated into the local community network in a similar fashion to the older programs.

- Entry into the LEA institution was initiated by ACWE program directors. The more responsibility the directors (particularly of new programs) took in obtaining LEA support through school principals, the faster target population enrollment levels could be reached.

- LEA guidance counselors, after being given the initiative by their LEA school principal, were the main source of ACWE program referrals and determination of student academic credit needs.

- The program advocacy role of the ACWE project director and staff was responsible for the development and sustenance of youth work sites. Pre-existing friendships and the ability to act as an advocate resulted in faster and easier entry into the job market and the development of youth work sites.

- Advisory boards functioned to sanction project activities but did not result in better service delivery or help with program operations.

- Comprehensive service delivery was the result in part of the development of informal linkages with community human service organizations.

- The interinstitutional linkages established by the CETA prime sponsor and the LEA functioned to sanction project operations, whereas the informal linkages established by the projects with community resource persons and human service organizations were developed to improve services. The latter linkages resulted in more effective and comprehensive service delivery

CHAPTER FOUR

EXPANDED PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT

Introduction

In the fall of 1978, Youthwork, Inc., funded twelve programs within the focus area entitled "Expanded Private Sector Involvement". As with the other three programmatic models, this one was to:

> Learn more about in-school programs and their effectiveness and to promote cooperation between the education and training and employment systems (Youthwork, Inc., 1978:2).

The linking of organizations to address the training and employment needs of the youth is the focus of this chapter. How are linkages between a program and other community organizations initiated? What are the functions of these linkages and how are they maintained? As suggested by the National Manpower Institute, we are, at present, quite naive when it comes to understanding these processes.

> This new emphasis on community involvement is not really new. The concept of allowing more local control over the federal programs is one of the characteristics that distinguishes CETA from MDTA. Yet it is ironic that so little research has been done to find out whether local leaders are able to run programs better than federal administrators can. More

> importantly, almost no research has been financed to discover--in those areas where local collaboration seems to be working--what the common denominators are. True, all communities are different to some extent. Yet little effort has been made to analyze local conditions which make cooperation among disparate groups a working reality or merely an objective (National Manpower Institute, 1980:54).

That which we do know about the preparation of youth by various organizations was suggested by Wurzburg:

> For years, education and employment and training institutions have coexisted at the local level. Since their client populations are not mutually exclusive, there has been considerable overlap in the populations the two institutions have served and the services that have been provided. In some cases, the overlap has produced productive partnerships and specific strategies for developing complementary services. More frequently, the overlap has produced competition over turf and occasional charges and countercharges of institutional failure and incompetence. The result has been a collective inability to service some youth adequately (Wurzburg, 1980:3).

In light of these findings, the YEDPA legislation established an ideal starting point for a more thorough investigation of the linkage process. In particular, YEDPA provided a mechanism through which CETA and the schools could be linked (Wurzburg, 1980:3). The end result, it was hoped, would be a joint effort to address the needs of specific youth populations, as opposed to the mutual distrust of the past.

Interim Report #1 of the Youthwork National Policy Study provided a glimpse at program linkages after approximately nine months of operation. This present chapter explores in more depth program linkages at four private sector programs after approximately twenty months of operation. Each of these programs has established an extensive network of links to other community organizations. This chapter documents the purposes and functions of certain linkages (e.g., program/CETA/LEA; program/social agencies) and then proceeds to examine factors that influence the ability of these programs to function within their communities.

Program Characteristics

The four programs discussed in this report represent attempts by a rural and three urban organizations to address the school-to-work transition of youth. They were located in two midwestern states and one eastern state (two programs). Only the rural program represented a newly created program. The remaining three were modifications of prior programs. Three private non-profit organizations and a local education agency (LEA) operated the programs, two of which were established as alternative schools. The various programs were designed to involve approximately 100-180 youth. Each has now been in operation for approximately 20 months and all are scheduled to stop receiving federal funding by October 1, 1980. Table 1 graphically presents these data.

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR PROGRAMS

Program	Operator[a]	Area Population Range (in thousands)	Where Program is Conducted	Actual/Planned No. of Students to be Served[b]		Program Status[c]	Program Began[d]
Site 1	LEA	50+	Alternative School	134/140	95.7%	Expansion	10/78
Site 2	PrNP	rural	Schools	108/118	91.5	New	10/78
Site 3	PrNP	1000+	Schools	161/185	82.0	Expansion	12/78
Site 4	PrNP	500+	Alternative School	104/96	108.0	Expansion	11/78

[a] LEA = Local Education Agency; PrNP = Private Non-profit Organization

[b] Data Source: Project Monthly Reports for April 1980 (site 4: March 1980)

[c] Expansion of pre-existing program; newly created program

[d] All programs will cease to receive federal funding by October 1, 1980

Basic to each of these programs are components such as classroom training, career exploration, the awarding of academic credit, and vocational exploration. The focus of each program is briefly presented below.

Site 1: An alternative school providing basic academic skills, job orientation classes, and vocational exploration. Both public and private sector employers are utilized for the work experience phase. Additionally, a "community partner" (mentorship) component provides students a one-to-one relationship with community volunteers.

Site 2: A rural program providing classroom training in job readiness skills. After completion of that phase youth participate in vocational exploration in private and public sector jobs.

Site 3: Youth canvass the local community around their schools to identify potential work sites and employers interested in providing various services to the program and to the schools (e.g., guest lectures, tours of businesses). During phase two, youth are placed in vocational exploration within the private sector. Students spend one afternoon per week (of each program phase) learning about various careers and developing job readiness skills.

Site 4: This program provides basic skills development, job preparation skills, and vocational exposure in the private sector. A mentor corps was to be developed for one-to-one relations between the youths and community volunteers.

Data Collection/Analysis Procedures

Data describing program linkages were collected periodically by field observers at these four private sector programs for almost two years. More recently (January 1980) field observers were instructed to intensify their investigations of the issues surrounding the linkage of their respective programs to the social network in which they operate. The Youthwork National Policy Study Analysis Packet entitled "Inter-Institutional Linkages" (see Appendix) provided guidelines for this investigation. Further, field observers were instructed to refer back to their earlier protocols and program reports as a means of identifying the various linkages developed to date. This process produced a wide range of links at each private sector site. Given the time available for in-depth investigation (four months: January-April 1980), private sector field observers were asked to focus their investigation on the CETA/LEA/ program link and, time permitting, two other linkages. The linkages studied during this period and discussed in this chapter are noted in Table 2.

TABLE 2

LINKAGES EXAMINED IN THIS CHAPTER BY PROGRAM

Site 1:	Program with:	CETA/LEA; CBO's; Social Services
Site 2:	Program with:	CETA/LEA; CBO's
Site 3:	Program with:	CETA/LEA; Career Center
Site 4:	Program with:	CETA/LEA

FINDINGS

The development of linkages within the community is an important process for any program. Failure to accomplish this linking may lead to the inability to carry out planned program objectives as well as decrease the likelihood of program continuation. The findings are presented in four brief, program-specific synopses. Each synopsis details how the program established and nurtured the CETA/LEA/Program linkage.[1] At two sites the program's linkage to CBO's is also presented. For each linkage, its operation, incentives to participate, and focus of decision-making authority are presented.

A final section, after the synopses, examines a number of questions pertaining to the inter-relationships of programs and the network of organizations within which they operate. As but one example, the need for different linkages at different times is discussed. Additional site-specific data, relevant to these issues, are included in this section.

Site 1

Overview of the Program and its Linkages: The program at this site established a small alternative school serving approximately 80 students. As part of this school, a job orientation course and follow-up work experience were provided as curriculum options. Those students choosing this option had to successfully complete the classroom phase prior to being given a work placement. In addition, students spent a portion of their day in academic classes. A community partners component was included to provide students with role models.

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[1] CETA, as used in this chapter, refers to the local prime sponsors of these programs.

Linkages developed at this program included ones to: the CETA prime sponsor, the school district, public and private sector employees, social service agencies such as the Lions and Rotary, and community-based organizations such as youth service programs and a crisis center. For each linkage an exchange of services occurs. For example, the program provided speakers to service agencies who in turn provide the program with volunteer community partners. In another instance the program provided employers with employees, while the employers provide the program worksites. In this way, the program has linked into the overall system providing and receiving needed services. The field observer identified the program's need for these links as being greater than the needs of other groups for the links, i.e., the other groups could get along without the program, but the program could not function without these links.

> For the program these linkages are essential for meeting program goals. The program needs the organizations more than the organizations need the program. Therefore, it is the employees of the program who initiate the linkages and court the desired cooperation. Note that the organizations are linked to each other forming a "network". It appears that the program has successfully tapped into the network. In one case the program helped form a linkage between the school and the prime (March 1980).

In pursuing the establishment of linkages as suggested in the preceeding passage, the field observer found that this process was contingent upon: (1) identifying a program goal; (2) identifying the appropriate source of help (link); and (3) delegating linkage responsibilities to a staff member--preferably one with a background or familiarity with the organization to be approached. These steps were further explained by the field observer:

> Based on the program's experience it appears that a necessary condition for an establishment of a linkage with other organizations is the identification of a person or a position as responsible for the development of such a linkage....The characteristic that seems common to all of these individuals and their establishment of a linkage is that they have had some prior experience within or dealing with organizations to which they have linked....So based on the observations of this site, it appears that it is helpful in the establishment of linkages the the individual who does the actual linking with other organizations either have had prior experience, and identifies with the philosophies and goals of that organization, or the individual has the necessary authority, "pull", to make her requests for linkage legitimate.
>
> I am not suggesting that if these conditions are not met that a linkage cannot be built; but perhaps it will take longer to establish a linkage when these conditions are not present because prior to establishing a linkage they must make themselves legitimate to the organization that they attempt to link to. Individuals who have already dealt with these organizations and who can and do share in certain key values and philosophies should be able to link easier than individuals who lack these characteristics and experiences (March 1980).

Stemming from the program's need to meet program goals, the field observer identified four phases through which this program passed in the development of program/community linkages. Stage 1, start-up, actually began prior to the program with the acquisition of letters of support from community organizations and the creation of formal linkages with the CETA prime sponsor and the LEA. The outcomes of this phase were the establishment of contractual agreements and an identification of operating procedures.

Stage 2 was closely associated to stage 1. Where stage 1 laid the groundwork for the program, stage 2 began to implement the program. At this point daily operations began, students were identified, and community contacts were more formally initiated. At stage 3 the task of meeting program goals was addressed. For Site 1 this meant identifying a specific goal and then delegating responsibility for meeting that goal to a staff member. This stage was also a time during which program modifications occurred. For example, one program goal was to place youth in private sector work experiences. The modifications that transpired were noted by the field observer:

> The job coordinators found it very difficult to place students on private sector jobs. They found the difficulty with the 14 and 15 year olds who, for the first part of the program, accounted for a large part of the participants. Also the OJT contract did not attract as many private sector employers as first thought. Therefore, the job coordinators began to explore the possibility of using the public sector....A meeting was held with the prime to discuss that option. The program was later modified to allow program funds up to 200 hours. After the 200 hours were used, the students would be transferred to regular CETA rolls and be allowed to continue in the same job (April 1980).

The final stage, institutionalization, emphasized development of a permanent position within the community. The major goal became one of program continuation and was approached through increased attention to the operation of established linkages.

CETA/LEA/Program Linkages. The development of this linkage began prior to the program's start-up. The proposed alternative school was to be an integral part of the school system. Interaction between CETA and the sponsoring LEA was precipitated by the need of the school district for technical assistance in developing the proposal and by the fact that the proposal had to demonstrate a cooperative arrangement between these two systems. (After all, it was to be a CETA-funded In-School Project.)

Once intiated, the respective roles of CETA and the LEA to the program were clearly defined. CETA functioned as a source for regulation clarification, assistance in writing proposals (program modifications), technical assistance, and fiscal matters. The LEA provided program facilities and program staff and helped identify eligible students.

The program's impact on the CETA/LEA linkage was quite noticeable. The key to collaboration occurred about five months into the program. Personnel at the alternative school were reluctant to enroll more students needed to meet proposed service levels for fear of changing the nature of the school. CETA, LEA, and program personnel met to discuss what actions could be taken. The first step was for the CETA representative to suggest a dual enrollment of youth. Through this process, youth in another CETA program were provided the job orientation class of the program. This effectively raised the enrollment figures through "satellite programs" without affecting the services being offered the alternative school youth. For the CETA prime sponsor this agreement represented the first time that CETA program youth could receive academic credit for CETA program participation. Further, it fostered similar relationships with a second school district. The field observer noted in November 1979:

> I had an opportunity to talk with the Youth Program Director at the prime sponsor. She reported that this is the largest school district within their service area. She told me that the second largest school district is now more than ever willing to cooperate with the prime sponsor because they have learned of what this school district is getting, and they feel like they are being cheated out of something. What the second district is planning to do is replicate the satellite component of the program. The school district will provide a teacher, and in the case of the teacher's salary, half will be paid by the school district and half by CETA. Then, for a job orientation class, CETA will provide the jobs. The person speaking directly attributes this development to the program. She was the one who suggested, in an interview last year [1978-79], that if one could get districts competing against one another for these benefits, CETA would gain more acceptance. Apparently that is what is going on now.

More recently (February 1980) the field observer noted:

> In an attempt to increase enrollment figures without increasing the number of students at the alternative school, satellite programs were established. This resulted in very firm linkages between the prime, the program, and the schools. This linkage is still operating and seems to be strong. A second goal, placing students at jobs, resulted in developing, again, a stronger connection with the prime and with the schools.

The incentive for the CETA/LEA linkages shifted somewhat during the course of the program. Initially the emphasis was on dual participation for grant writing. Later, the incentive shifted to meet program modifications. Both systems received benefits through this relationship in the form of academic credit and student enrollment for CETA and the LEA, respectively. Most recently there have been joint planning efforts for program continuation after federal funds end.

The CETA/LEA/Program linkage also benefited the youth participants. The CETA prime sponsor through the satellite programs picked up youth who had earned the maximum income allowable via the project. The youths were then transferred onto CETA payrolls but retained the jobs they had when with the program. This process reduced the chance of youths being without a job and income. The youths also had the choice of remaining in the traditional school system and taking part in the satellite programs or of attending the alternative school.

The decison-making authority for this linkage varied. For routine daily decisions, the program director was in charge. The overall responsibility for the program, however, rested with an assistant superintendent. When major decisions had to be made, as in reducing the number of students to be served within the alternative school, the program director relayed such requests to this higher level of authority. The CETA prime sponsor as the program's monitor and funding source also participated in major decisons that would necessitate modification of the proposal. As previously noted in the cases of the satellite programs and the transfer of students between programs, there existed a high degree of cooperation among the three parties in this linkage.

CBO and Social Services Agencies/Program Linkages. The field observer at this program suggested that linkages were directly related to meeting program goals. She explained:

> If it were not identified that jobs were important, the public sector may never have been tapped. If it were not identified that the community partner program was important, then the recruitment of such partners from such organizations as the Lions Club or Rotary Club, colleges, and churches may not have been developed. And if it were not identified that it was important to serve as many students as possible, the cooperative effort between the prime sponsor and the program would not have developed. If the goals were maintained or identified as merely improving the academic achievement level, self-concept, and value clarification, then probably, these linkages would not be formed because those goals would be met within the confines of program staff and the school; there would be no need to go to other organizations and seek their cooperation (April 1980).

The identification of a goal and development of a linkage were repeated time and again at this program. In contact with community-based organizations, the emphasis was on fulfilling program components through the exchange of services. A specific benefit of this relationship for the program and its youth was the acquisition of community partners who worked with the youth as role models. This also was a particularly good example of the need to delegate goal attainment to a specific person. During the program's first year (1978-79) this component was never operational as program personnel worked on it when there was extra time available. Year two (1979-80) found the responsibility for this component given to the social worker and the assistant director. Under their guidance the number of community partners increased and the component became functional.

The social service agency linkages differed from CBO linkages in that they focused on the needs of mutual clients. This linkage was found to have been initiated very early in the program. The field observer noted:

> According to the project director, the development of this linkage came about early on. She said that initially the program contacted many of the social agencies right at the point of inception to determine what services were available within the community and to attempt to avoid overlapping services (April 1980).

The alternative school's social worker was the key person in relations with social service agencies including such agencies as Children and Family Services, Juvenile Probation and Parole, the County Association of Alcohol and Drug Abuse, and two colleges. The program's social worker felt that particularly strong relations existed with the first two agencies as she knew the caseworkers quite well. The field observer identified several reasons for these linkages:

> First of all, such a linkage can provide a cooperative effort and the combining of services for a common client. Secondly, it provides a means for sharing information and understanding about a particular child. Thirdly, social service agencies are a referral source, and fourthly, they can help provide support within the service network for the program (April 1980).

The social service agency linkages provided professional support for the program, referrals, and through cooperation with the program, a much less fragmented approach to service delivery for mutual clients. However, while cooperation existed, the field observer also identified a desire by social service workers to have greater input into the decisions made about services for mutual clients. As far as educational decisions were concerned, the authority was clearly in the hands of the educators. The field observer explained the situation as follows:

> The social service people are allowed to provide input and make suggestions specifically when you are dealing about an individual student, but they do not attempt, nor act to give input into the running of the program, the development of the program, or acceptance of the participants. I think the social worker put her hand on it when she made the comment that these workers, referring to social service workers, are not in education, so it would be inappropriate for them to come in here and tell the staff how to educate these children (April 1980).

Summary. A number of important factors in the development and maintenance of linkages occurred at this program. First, a three-step process in the development of a linkage existed. This included identification of a goal, an appropriate linkage, and someone within the program to oversee attainment of the goal. Second, four phases that the program passed through were identified: start-up, intake, attainment of goals, and institutionalization. Third, not only were linkages developed, but there was always a two-way exchange of services. This giving as well as receiving acted as an incentive to community organizations. Fourth, the program was clearly located within the community's network of organizations and worked to foster linkages between organizations (e.g., CETA/LEA).

The CETA/LEA/Program linkage was strengthened by the joint CETA/LEA development of this program. Both organizaions received incentives to maintain this linkage. And for the CETA prime sponsor it has also fostered linkages with another school district. The most notable occurrence suggesting improved cooperation between the CETA prime sponsor and the LEA was the joint effort to examine ways to maintain the program after federal funding ends. Planning for the program's future further suggests the extent to which the program made itself needed within the community.

Development of linkages to CBO's and social service agencies were dependent on meeting goals. With CBO's the relationship was primarily one of exchange of services, whereas with social service agencies it depended on the needs of shared clients. While decision making in the CETA/LEA/Program linkage was often shared, this was not the case with other linkages. CBO's and social service agencies had no say in program operation. These were supportive linkages. The CETA/LEA linkage was clearly the most crucial to program success.

Site 2

Overview of the Program and its Linkages. The aims of this program were to provide rural youth with classroom training in job acquisition skills and career exploration and then provide brief work experience with private sector employers. To accomplish the former, program personnel operated the program in five rural schools after the school day. For the latter, job specialists contacted employers and arranged for the program's work phase. The program's linkages included ones to the schools, employers, a tutorial program, the county action program, and CETA. The program's emphasis was on developing linkages with the schools and employers. These linkages helped meet the program's goals. Less extensive contact with other community organizations occurred.

CETA/LEA/Program Linkage. This program represents a rare case in which a program sponsor did not enlist the participation of the local CETA prime sponsor in the development and submission of a program proposal. As a result, the link between the program and CETA was minimal at the outset and remained so. The linking that did occur came through contact between program personnel and CETA program personnel at meetings to discuss the various services available to youth in the county. Limited effort to maintain linkages by personnel from these programs resulted in little coordination of county-wide youth programs. The field observer noted:

> As could be expected, with such a limited degree of joint endeavor the decision-making authority has remained firmly within each individual program in relation to recruitment, solicitation of job placements, and similar program decision making. The impact on service to enrollees has been minimal. While the program has placed two students with a CETA-funded tutorial program and has shown some students the County Action Program's work module facility, these instances have been so limited, the impact on enrollees is almost non-existent (April 1980).

The youth program successfully obtained letters of endorsement for program continuation from local CETA programs. There was, however, no commitment by the CETA prime sponsor to supply funds for the proposed continuation.

The linkage to the LEA's of the county fared better. A number of program characteristics made it attractive to the schools. They included: (1) a lack of similar programs in the schools (there was no extensive career education taking place); (2) a requirement that to be in the program the student must remain in school; (3) no request for financial support of the program; and (4) limited time demands and lack of paperwork for school officials.

Acting in opposition to these factors was the operation of the program. Administratively, it was housed at a location other than the schools being served. Second, the classroom phase was conducted after the end of the regular school day by individuals who were not part of the regular staff. Consequently, one guidance counselor labeled it a "ghost program" as little was actually known about it.

Interim Report #3 of the Youthwork National Policy Study detailed factors enhancing program administration (p. 131). Among those factors were: in-school programs should include the use of school faculty or the regular presence of program personnel at the school during school hours; the program should begin during school hours; and program operators should be experienced with the systems encountered when conducting an in-school program. The less these factors were adhered to, the more difficult program conduct would be. Given that this was the program sponsor's first in-school endeavor and that none of the other prerequisites were met, it is not suprising that some uncertainty about the program existed among school officials.

Despite the obstacles faced by this program, including an almost entire change of staff, there was evidence of growing LEA support. As but one example, all school districts were approached about the awarding of academic credit at the program's outset (December 1978). The response was reserved, there being concern that too many ways already existed for youth to acquire academic credit. Once better established, the program director again approached the school districts with a clearly outlined request for academic credit. At that point (Spring 1980), school representatives were quite receptive to this process. The field observer noted that a program's credibility became a factor in the acceptance of a program modification:

> It seems that, in the instance of a program, longevity equals credibility. What a program may have difficulty accomplishing in its formative stages may be easier when it has established itself in the community (April 1980).

A second instance of the growing support by LEAs occurred when officials from the participating schools wrote letters supporting the program's continuation.

The decision-making authority remained completely under the control of the program's staff. The field observer noted that two barriers, in particular, reduced the possibility of greater sharing of decisions between the program and the schools. The first was the location of the program outside the schools, and the second was a lack of lead time before enrolling students. The former was an administrative problem mentioned earlier. The latter resulted from late program start-up and the sponsor's hurry to get under way. The field observer further discussed this problem:

> Starting up in the middle of the school year also complicated a cooperative arrangement such as this. But, even if the program had started in September without a sufficient lead time to develop a cooperative agreement based on mutually shared goals and LEA input into programming, it is unlikely that cooperative efforts can be fostered during the first year of program implementation (April 1980).

To date, the only decisions school representatives really participated in were whether to participate in the program and whether to award academic credit.

The overall strength of these two linkages (CETA and LEA to the program) remains unclear. Certainly both CETA and the LEA provided "verbal" support for the program. However, there exists no evidence to suggest that either system has offered any assistance for program continuation after federal funding ceases. For the CETA linkage it may be that the few contacts beteen the program and CETA programs were not sufficient to warrant CETA support. Perhaps more direct contact with CETA administrators would have been the correct tack to take. A clearer relationship between the program and the schools occurred. Interaction to some extent was necessary for conduct of the program, and there were some clear incentives to encourage involvement. However, the direct link to the schools was not strong enough to have fostered among the schools the kind of commitment to a program that was necessary for continuation support. Finally, the CETA/LEA linkage cannot be said to have been affected by this program. A key to this had to be the circumvention of the CETA prime sponsor during the submission of the original proposal.

CBO/Program Linkages. The linkages in this category were developed primarily to exchange services and information on shared clients. The program acted as initiator in these contacts. Early in the program (March 1979), staff arranged the meeting of individuals from many of the county's programs for youth. At other times they contacted individual programs. Most notably, program staff were involved in the conduct of two planning meetings held prior to a regional hearing by the National Youth Advocacy Coalition (May 1980). These meetings were used to develop testimony for presentation at the hearings.

The problem faced by program staff, and as yet unresolved, has been a means to maintain the dialogue initiated between programs. After fulfilling the need for a contact, the principals have gone their own ways with little further communication. As suggested by the field observer, continuation of linkages was sporadic:

> While it would seem that there would be many theoretical advantages to close cooperation among the youth programs within the county, the sporadic contact between programs and the fact that formal contacts were always initiated by this program seems to indicate that the staff of various programs do not perceive a cooperative effort as an important goal in a generalized sense. However, when a specific instance has arisen which required cooperation, that cooperative effort has been forthcoming, at least in the few instances initiated by this program (April 1980).

Summary. This program fulfilled its goals through linkages to the schools and employers. For the development of each, specific personnel were responsible. The site provided evidence that program longevity enhances credibility which in turn enables a program to better meet its goals. In the long run this suggests that programs need be funded initially for longer periods of time than were the Youthwork, Inc. programs (9-18 months). This may be especially true for newly developed programs, such as this one. After 18 months the program was just beginning to stabilize and be viewed as a valuable contribution to the schools. An additional year may have provided further information about the processes a newly created program must go through before becoming an integral part of the community.

Certainly one thing we now know is that this program was not located so as to facilitate its linkages with the schools. While it did fill an educational gap, it remained too detached from the schools to ensure its position as a community program. Associated to this was the fact that this was the sponsor's first attempt at serving in-school youth. While the overall effort to serve these students succeeded, an operator more experienced in school-oriented programs may have been more cognizant of ways to foster this linkage.

Finally, the lack of a CETA/Program linkage must be noted. This omission precluded the possibility of establishing and fostering CETA/LEA relations via the program: an original intention of the exemplary programs. More importantly, a key source of continuation funds, through the YEDPA 22% set aside or other means, was lost.

Site 3

Overview of the Program and its Linkages. This urban program was divided into two phases. During the first few weeks youth, in pairs, canvassed the neighborhood surrounding their schools identifying and soliciting the participation of employers. Employers who agreed to participate did so in several ways including giving site tours, giving presentations about their business, and providing a worksite. During the second phase of the program, youths' career interests were matched with employers who had a comparable work experience available. One afternoon during each phase the students met in a classroom setting to learn about various careers and develop their job seeking and job keeping skills.

The focus of investigation at this site was on the program's linkages to the CETA and LEA systems. The purposes for these linkages were briefly described by the field observer:

> Department of Employment (CETA)--As a cofunder of the second year's program, the DOE has been closely involved in defining the bases for the project and in handling fiscal matters. Close working relationships are necessary to assure the flow of funding relative to program expenses, student payrolls, etc. The DOE is responsible for the resolution to the Board of Estimate mandated for program approval.

The National Alliance of Business is the sponsoring organization and brings to the program the resources of its affiliated organizations.

Board of Education--an important reason for this linkage is the requirement of a Board Resolution enabling the Board to accept funds for the part-time involvement of school staff on the project. Further, this linkage is necessary for involvement of individual high schools.

Division of High Schools--A critical linkage as activities with and in the high schools come under the Division, its Executive Director, and the Regional High School Superintendents. Linkages are required in setting up the in-school programs in future years.

Participating High Schools--One of the most critical set of linkages in that working relationships need to be established with the school's administration prior to initiating any school programs involving school staff and students. While initial contacts were through the appropriate superintendents, subsequent contacts have been with the school principals and with program staff located at the schools. Through the high school administration and project staff, linkages have been established with community organizations and governmental offices, private industry establishments, and the project/school advisory committee.

Center for Career and Occupational Education (CCOE)--linkages with this organization have been critical in providing resources of CCOE's Career Experience Center and its staff for student in-take, testing, etc. Through the CCOE, linkages are also maintained with the YETP program. Central administration of CCOE may well play a critical role in the continuation of this type of program in the school system after discontinuation of Youthwork funding. Not only does the CCOE have responsibility for the Board's YETP project but it is also responsible for other programs involving CETA funding (March 1980).

CETA/LEA/Program Linkage. The non-profit organization that operated this program had had prior contacts with CETA and the schools. The proposal received the support of both systems, with the CETA prime sponsor assisting in regulation clarification and fiscal matters while the LEA provided facilities, staff, and students. The intial relationship was much the same as at Site 1. The main goals of this program, student preparation for employment and work experiences, were met through linkages with the LEA's and employers, as was the case at Site 2.

As with Site 1, Site 3 enhanced the CETA/LEA linkage. However, the nature of this relationship differed from that encountered at Site 1, where the link was strengthened via efforts to meet program goals. In contrast, Site 3's linkage was centered more around the continuation of the program and how each party could contribute to this process.

Actual program operations were faciliated by avoidance of the CETA and LEA bureaucracies. The program director suggested that success came with the direct linking with school personnel as opposed to going through the "political system". He noted:

> We are talking about what makes this program successful. From the standpoint of management and working with people, we work directly with the people in the schools and we avoid the linkages with the political system of the high schools and the prime sponsor. For example, if we had to run the program, from its outset, through the Bureau of Cooperative Education, the Career Center, the high school system's administration, the YETP, and try to coordinate that with the sponsoring agencies and the prime sponsor, we never would have gotten it off the ground. We say we have worked with these groups, and in a sense we have. But in reality, we have circumvented all of these groups and have gone directly to the high schools...
>
> I think one of the major weaknesses of the sponsoring agencies is that they try to implement and bring about change in the school system through the political structure of the high schools. That is impossible to do for as soon as they link up with the people of the organization, the program gets submerged in bureaucratic snarls and rhetoric. But as soon as you link up with people in the schools, and maintain liaison with them, you have a good basis for success and involvement with ongoing programs (March 1980).

As suggested, the critical linkage for operation of the program was at the individual high school level. However, the ultimate fate of the program lay in the bureaucracy. Financial support for this linkage was not likely to be forthcoming from the school system, as the field observer noted:

> The Superintendent is interested in the program and its extension into other high schools. He does feel that the high school system will be in a tight financial situation this coming year and that it will be virtually impossible to provide staffing for a program of this type (April 1980).

Fortunately, the CETA Prime Sponsor also found this to be a promising program. As a result, the second year of the program (1979-80) was funded to a greater extent by local CETA funds than by Youthwork, Inc. This included an expansion from two to three schools. Currently, negotiations are taking place for continued CETA support for 1980-81, including a fourth site.

The program's future appears linked to the school system's Center for Career and Occupational Education, one of whose functions is the oversight of CETA-funded programs. The program's relationship to this center was established during the first two years of the program (1978-80). Initially, use of the CETA-funded Career Experience Center was contested by CETA as it would result in a co-mingling of CETA and Youthwork, Inc. funds. During the second year (1979-80) CETA's cosponsoring of the program eliminated this problem. As a result, students have made extensive use of this facility. This linkage was further facilitated by the initial contacts made during year one and by the program's provision of additional staff to help oversee the programs use of the Career Experience Center during year two.

Two significant developments have recently occurred in the furthering of the CETA/LEA linkage. First was the creation of a commission to study ways to improve this linkage. Initially, the program's director served as acting head of this project, whose purpose is to "develop linkages that will expedite work between the two institutions." The second process involves linking the program's youth with youth from another CETA program in an effort to help locate jobs for the summer (1980) months. The program director explained:

> The program students are presently scheduled to end their vocational exploration experiences on June 6. A plan is now under way to extend the program an additional three weeks so that program students, the experts in job development, may pair off with other LEA YETP students in an attempt to develop jobs for themselves and/or other students in the six schools desiring summer employment. The students at six schools, three program and three other YETP schools, will attend joint workshops prior to outreach into the private sector community (May 1980).

This program modification would be

approved by CETA, provided the necessary paperwork was completed by June 6, 1980.

Decisions regarding the operations of this program remained the domain of the private non-profit operator. However, extensive contact with the individual schools was maintained via a program coordinator at each school. Decisions at individual schools were made by this individual. A strong bond developed between the program and each school. This was fostered by continuing efforts to involve school personnel through working part-time for the program and by keeping the administration informed of the program's activities. Decisions concerning program continuation prompted the program's operator to solicit the assistance of other organizations (e.g., CETA, LEA).

Summary. An important factor suggested by this site was the necessity to foster linkages to different levels within the LEA system. For the actual conduct of this program, firm linkages to the schools served were of paramount importance. However, where the program's future was concerned, the district-wide administrators had to be involved. Second, the program director as well as the sponsoring organization had extensive backgrounds in and prior experience with programs of this nature. Prior experience in operating youth programs, combined with a familiarity with how to negotiate the various systems (e.g., CETA, LEA) facilitated program conduct. Finally, although operated by an outside agency, the program was linked directly to the schools through its location, staffing, and continued efforts to keep administrators aware of program activities.

Site 4

Overview of the Program and its Linkages. This alternative school operated during the afternoon hours of the school day. During this time youth must take courses in reading and math, as well as a job orientation class. Work experience with private sector employers were provided students and a mentor corps was to have been developed.

The linkage developed by the program included ones to the schools, CETA, colleges, employers, childrens court, and a group of youth serving agencies. The linkages to CETA and the LEA and their purposes were noted by the field observer:

> Linkage: CETA office
> Time relationship began: November 1978/start up
> Nature of relationship: file reports, forms, occasional site visits, monitor, minor technical assistance
>
> Linkage: LEA (Special Programs, Guidance, Reading Department, Math Department)
> Time: November 1978/start up
> Nature: cooperate in the awarding of academic credit, refer students, provide feedback to project through guidance counselors, advise education component teachers.

This private non-profit program had difficulties in establishing linkages to meet goals. Both a mentor corps and an advisory council remained undeveloped after a year of program operation (January 1980). Two factors entered into this situation. First, there was a large staff turnover within the first year. Second, no one was assigned to carry out these components. Fortunately, program components more crucial to program conduct, e.g., the training phase and the acquisition of work experiences, were more carefully overseen.

CETA/LEA/Program Linkages. The program's linkage to CETA remained one focusing on monitoring and technical assistance. This occurred because the CETA office had many programs to oversee and was understaffed. The CETA represenative described the relationship as "a somewhat formal administrative relationship."

The LEA/Program linkage is clearly one that has developed over time. Initial contact between the sponsor and the LEA centered on LEA input into the educational component of the original proposal. Once initiated, the program faced difficulties brought on by late start-up and the system established for identifying eligible youth. The former made it difficult to synchronize the program components to the school's schedule. Mid-semester was too late for the school system to rearrange student schedules. The latter found the program relying heavily upon referrals from a coalition of youth-serving organizations rather than the schools, thereby reducing anticipated enrollment. This referral process further complicated the LEA/Program relationship as noted by the field observer:

> The school representative said that he had no problem with the agencies referring most of the students to the program. He expected that the agencies knew the students and their families very well because they had worked with them for long periods of time. However, they did not know the situation the students were in at the school and expected the clearing process to take place through the school before placement in the program. He said, "No agency, no matter who they are, can pull these kids out of school without our permission." He gave an example of one student who was doing well in school and was a senior who had been referred by an agency and placed in the program. The school was unaware of his enrollment for quite a while, and his mother thought he had been assigned to the program. It was decided that the student would do better to stay in school full-time and graduate through the school system rather than the program (May, 1979).

High staff turnover and administrative problems were additional factors that impinged upon program operation. By the beginning of the new school year (September 1979), school guidance counselors were becoming unsure of the program. Contact with the program and its ending in mid-semester were concerns expressed. Counselors were reassured by program staff that there would be improved communication and that a program extension to the end of the school year was being sought.

Shortly after the beginning of the school year (November 1979), the program's administrative problems were resolved. The private non-profit sponsor took over the overseeing of the program. (Formerly this authority had been delegated to another organization.) Also a new program director was hired. Since that time the program's relations with the LEA fluorished. A waiting list for entrants into the program began to develop. Most referrals were coming from the LEA. Additional improvements were noted by the field observer:

> The relationship with the LEA has become quite firm. They now have a formal agreement with the administration covering such things as referrals, amount of credit, and communication channels. In particular, the communication between the schools and the project has improved in the area of attendance and truancy....In developing this new program to deal with truants at school, there has been "more cooperation from the LEA than ever expected. Guidance counselors, social workers and administrators of particular schools are involved closely with the project to monitor attendance." The two program counselors feel that the LEA and the project are "providing a network of supportive services for students" that were not there before.... I mentioned some instances in the past where this cooperation between the schools and the project was not taking place over the last year. I asked them what they felt the changes were due to. Both agreed that one of the major factors was the coordination of the program with the school year that was instrumental in producing more cooperation with the school. Also cited by them as a factor was the continual contact initiated by project staff with the schools on an individual and frequent basis (March 1980).

Corroboration of linkage strengthening was recently made by the LEA liaison (April 1980). Particular mention was given to the efforts by program personnel to better understand the operation of the school system and the affect of time on program development.

> He said the project had come a long way in understanding the constraints under which the LEA operates. Teacher contract agreements, department and interdepartmental procedures, accountability to many levels of administration have all presented grounds for misunderstanding between parties in the past. These misunderstandings have slowed down the development of agreements. He considered the quickness and ease with which this agreement had been made as a reflection of the growing stability and trust that has developed over a period of time. The project's director has been, "a very easy person to work with." Requests to him are met promptly, reports are shared, meetings are frequent. The relationship has changed over time and overall is "improving steadily". One recent development is that project counselors have established consistent working relationships with participants' school counselors. He suggested that the LEA "would be sensitive to suggestions of a continued relationship."

The continued relationship alluded to was pursued. The program's director requested letters of support for program continuation from the schools served. One proposed funding source would be through a Law Enforcement Administration Agency (LEAA) grant. Support for the program was forthcoming from the school representative as he realized the programs value to the schools lay in its provision of services otherwise unavailable.

Summary. As with the other three sites, this program went through a period of maturation. During this time several problems (e.g., staff turnover, late start-up) impinged on the LEA/Program linkage. Just as relationships were stabilizing the program faced termination. Support for continuation was forthcoming from the LEA as the program provided needed services.

The linkage to CETA remained one focusing on administrative matters normally associated with CETA: fiscal oversight, program compliance, and technical assistance. There was no evidence, as in Sites 1 and 3, to suggest that the program had any impact on the CETA prime sponsor or CETA's linkage to the LEA.

The operation of this program fell somewhere between the experiences at Site 2 and Site 3. It was not as isolated as at Site 2 where the program was located outside the schools and operated in the schools after the school day. Nor was it developed as an integral part of the schools served as at Site 3. Instead it was located at a site separate from the schools but operated during the school day. The latter required that a linkage be developed.

Program Implementation and Institutionalization: A Discussion

As a program runs its course it comes in contact with many other organizations. At its outset there are organizations which give assistance in the development of the proposal. Later the program needs specific linkages as a means to carry out program components. Even later, as the program is maturing, there is the need to establish links which will help sustain the program over time. This process occurred at each of the private sector programs. The cooperation amidst CETA, LEAs, and program representatives was necessary for the initiation of the programs. (At Site 2 CETA was not involved.) Once begun, program operators began creating linkages that would assist in the meeting of program goals. For example, the need to acquire work placements necessitated contact with employers. The extensiveness of these linkages varied with the number of services or breadth of the program. One field observer noted:

> Programs with goals requiring little cooperation from other organizations will have fewer linkages than programs with goals demanding input and cooperation from many organizations (April 1980).

For the reporting programs, this observation has been quite accurate. As an example of this, one can contrast the linkages developed at Site 2 with those of Site 1. At Site 2 only two linkages, to the schools and to employers, were crucial to program success. In achieving these linkages all major program components could be addressed. In contrast, Site 1, as an alternative school, needed those two linkages plus ones to social service agencies (for shared clients) and to CBO's (for the community partner component). Therefore, as program goals increased and as the clientele served changed, for example, from in-school youth to drop-outs or juvenile delinquents, more extensive linkages were required. In all cases when linkages were formed, an exchange of services occurred.

The final stage for these programs, and undoubtedly the most difficult, was the development of linkages that could be used to help sustain the program after federal support ended. Through the development of CETA and LEA linkages, Sites 1 and 3 have received a clear commitment for program continuation. In fact, at Site 3 much of the program's second year costs (1979-80) were picked up by CETA. Both site synopses reflect the extensive cooperation and mutual benefits that have occurred. Strong linkages exist. Site 2 has fared less well in its creation of linkages that would insure institutionalization. While the schools verbally support it, they have no funds available for its perpetuation. Contact with CETA, the most likely source for continuation funding, was minimal. The continuation possibilities at Site 4 remain unclear. LEA support has grown as the program has stabilized and matured. School representatives are anxious for its continuation. However, CETA was not identified as one of the possible funding sources being considered.

The effect of positioning a program within the community's organizational network can clearly be seen at the four private sector programs. For each the emphasis was on serving in-school youth. Sites 1 and 3 took the most direct approach to this and located their programs within the physical facilties of the schools. Staff were drawn from these schools and students were easily identified. Site 2 was hampered in the development of community recognition by its location outside both the school systems served and the CETA system. For the schools, each of which was anxious to have the program, contact was limited to late afternoons after the school day. Failure to involve CETA at the planning stage was never rectified. As a result, a key source of future funding was lost. Site 4, while located separate from the schools served, had the advantage over Site 2 in that it operated during the school-day afternoon. This necessitated greater LEA/program cooperation. It was also initiated by a consortium of youth-serving agencies which provided a broad community base upon which to function.

Each of these programs has addressed its goals and served approximately its projected number of clients. What the data suggest is that the stronger the initial linkage built between the program and the school systems being served, the more easily the program can serve in-school youth. The most efficient means of accomplishing this appears to be through direct connections between the school and the program, such as through shared teachers and facilities and through operation during school time. Interestingly, the program that appeared to have the most difficult time strengthening school linkages, Site 2, was a newly conceived program operated by an organization that had never before conducted an in-school program. This suggests that prior experience may be a valuable asset in the conduct of programs of this nature.

As outlined in Interim Report #3, a number of factors may influence program administration (p. 131). The data discussed here suggest that these factors also impact upon the ability of programs to form linkages to LEA's. The linkage process to LEA's may be enhanced by: 1) development from pre-existing programs; 2) minimal of turnover among staff; 3) location within the schools whose youth are being served; 4) staff members who are either members of the school's faculty or are on the premises daily; 5) operators who are experienced in working with the systems encountered when conducting an in-school youth program; and 6) a program that begins during the school day. Points one, two, and five suggest experience to be a useful, if not requisite, quality to possess. The remaining three factors take a somewhat different approach to linkage formation. By their very nature they force LEA/Program cooperation. As adherence to these factors diminishes, so too does the ease of linkage formation.

One aspect of these programs that may be overlooked, when reviewing the linkages of these programs, was their role in the legislative plan to link CETA prime sponsors and LEAs. These programs were to be cooperative ventures. In one sense, three were. These three each used CETA in its traditional role of monitor and technical assistance source and the LEAs as the source of students. (The fourth site was never linked to CETA.) This form of linkage was a very narrow, traditional use of these institutions and did not reflect the actual intent of the legislation--improved relations. Interim Report #1 noted that after nine months this linkage had not appeared to have progressed beyond traditional CETA/LEA roles (p. 23). Since that time, however, data from Sites 1 and 3 suggest that these sites have moved beyond the status quo and acted as catalysts for greater CETA/LEA linkage. At Site 1 extensive modifications necessitated joint agreements. These, in turn, fostered further joint ventures. At Site 3, the tremendous success of the program led to joint efforts to continue it. Both situations led to cooperation beyond the scope of the immediate program. This was evidenced by the request of other school districts near Site 1 to develop working relationships with the CETA prime sponsor and the creation at Site 3 of a commission to study ways to strengthen the CETA/LEA linkage.

Successful attainment of goals at these programs hinged on establishing a clear responsibility for their accomplishment. This was substantiated at each site. Each program placed youth in work experiences and at each site someone was given the task of identifying work sites. The work sites were found. Two programs proposed the development of mentor corps to assist youth. Neither program delegated the responsibility and neither had mentor corps. Only after a year of operation was someone specifically assigned this task at Site 1. The "community partners" component now exists. It remains undeveloped at Site 4.

An important distinction must be made among program goals. Some goals were crucial to program operation, such as the acquisition of work sites. Others, such as mentor corps, were like window dressing, nice but not essential. It was along this line that attention to goals by program personnel changed. All programs made extensive efforts to address crucial components such as classroom training and work placements. The let-down came with the non-essential goals. One scenario would suggest that these non-essential goals were frills added to a proposal to attract attention. The reality of actually achieving them may well have been extremely remote.

The extent of program linkages hinged to some degree on the program's goals and its need for assistance in meeting these goals. A possible continuum would have programs running from being completely self-sufficient to those in need of extensive community support. Each of the four private sector sites falls at a slightly different point on such a continuum. Sites 2 and 3 fall near the self-sufficient end. Only two major linkages, to the schools and employers, were essential to program conduct. Site 4, having been developed by a consortium of youth-serving agencies and serving a clientele that includes juvenile delinquents, required a broader network of linkages. Site 1, an alternative school serving youth with a number of different problems, had the most extensive network. These latter two programs also had additional goals, such as remedial education, which were not present in the first two sites. Linkages varied as programs became more dependent on community assistance. Overly simplified, it would appear that gaining entry into various community networks was dependent on the need for those linkages.

It is significant that the feedback on linkages from projects emphasized the absolute necessity of starting in-school programs in coincidence with the school terms. Schools were not receptive to changing their schedules midstream to accommodate a new program. This has been a criticism mentioned many times and documented in prior YNPS reports. In the discussion of linkages the issue surfaced once again at Sites 2 and 4.

A maturation process occurred at all four programs. Early difficulties (e.g., late start-up) were overcome as staff became more sure of their roles and procedures were clarified. As programs settled into a routine, linkages were stabilized and strengthened. Unfortunately, this process was rather long for some programs (e.g., 11 months of a 15-month grant at one site). The result was the demonstration of program worth and the garnering of support just prior to program termination. The bottom line for these programs was that longevity yielded credibility. The problem was that by the time this status in the community was achieved, the program was nearly over.

Postscript

The data has provided a glimpse at the impact of linkages upon programs and vice versa. For these programs, their links to CETA and the schools were crucial to their existence and to their future. As each is faced with termination of federal support by October 1, 1980, it is appropriate to note the fate that awaits them.

Site 1 established itself as a needed part of the school system. It was the catalyst for extensive cooperation between CETA and the schools. Its future, however, is uncertain. While needed, it is expensive to operate at a time of budgetary cutbacks. Exploration for funds has been initiated by the school district with the assistance of the CETA prime sponsor. It is anticipated that some form of the program will be in operation next year (1980-81)--perhaps at a reduced size.

Site 2's linkage to the schools has improved with time, but the schools cannot afford to support the program. The linkage to CETA is weak. The CETA links that do exist are among programs and not with the administrators controlling funds. Ironically, the private non-profit sponsor is not seriously pursuing funds. It appears to have been a proposed program that was accepted, funded, and allowed to run its course. The program will end shortly.

Site 3 has achieved a level of success probably quite unanticipated at its outset. The first year's success led to extensive second year funding by CETA--of an expanded program. Institutionalization within the school system was being discussed and CETA/LEA funding for a further expansion of the program appears assured. Beyond its local success, information about the program has been requested by numerous cities and organizations. A replication is planned for the fall in another city and extensive efforts are being made for national dissemination of the program.

Site 4 has used CETA in its traditional ways as a site monitor and technical adviser. The program's relationship with the LEA clearly improved over time in part because of its need to comply with LEA regulations. There was no data provided suggesting that the program in any way strengthened the CETA/LEA relationship. Presently, the Chamber of Commerce has agreed to sponsor the program beginning October 1, 1980. Additionally, LEAA and the Governor's 5% program funds are being sought for program continuation.

CHAPTER FIVE

CAREER AWARENESS

The Youthwork contract referred to the career awareness focus area as "Career Information, Guidance, and Job-Seeking Skills". A shared goal of the twelve projects funded in fiscal 1979 was to improve the transition of youth from school to work, by providing youth with career information, job-seeking skills, and counseling. The intent of this chapter is to describe the institutional linkages that occurred during the implementation of three projects.

Youthwork framed several questions about institutional linkages for the career awareness focus area relevant to this chapter in the Knowledge Development Plan (1978). They were:

1. How actions can be taken for improved coordination and linkages among separate occupational and educational information services, systems, and resources.
2. How youth can serve to aid other youth in career planning, and
3. How employers can participate with schools to improve efforts in youth career planning.

This paper will examine the various roles of the institutions involved in project implementation. The focus will be on the process of implementation, in an effort to understand unanticipated obstacles surfacing during the life of the project. Pressman and Wildavsky (1979) stated that it is not suprising that implementation of new programs is difficult, but that the more interesting and useful questions focus on understanding why it is difficult:

> Implementation is evolution. Since it takes place in a world we never made, we are usually right in the middle of the process with events having occurred before and (we hope) continuing afterword. At each point we must cope with new circumstances that allow us to actualize different potentials in whatever policy ideas we are implementing. When we act to implement a policy, we change it (pp. 190-191).

Yet while the policy and programs may change, they are being implemented by institutions that have histories, together or separately, and by people with histories in those institutions. The questions that will interest us will focus on the actions taken by those institutions to facilitate implementation, especially as daily problems arose for project implementation.

Project Characteristics. The three projects included in this case study began in Fiscal 1979 as part of the initial 48 Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects. Project funding for the three projects ended by September, 1980. (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1

CAREER AWARENESS PROJECT CHARACTERISTICS

Project	Operator[a]	Population	Services	Dates
1	LEA	50-100,000	Alternative School	10/78- 9/80
2	NPR	100-500,000	Career Awareness, Work Experience	8/78-6/80
3	CONS	500,000+	Peer Counselors, Work Experience	1/79-6/80

[a] LEA = Local Education Agency; NPR = Non-profit Organization; CONS = Consortium

[b] Source: 1970 U.S. Census Data

The projects varied considerably along the dimensions of program operator, population of the geographic region, and the services provided. Project 1 was an alternative school operated by a Local Education Agency, an LEA, in a region of 50,000 to 100,000 people. A non-profit organization (NPR) operated project 2 in an area of 100,000 to 500,000 people. The services included career awareness sessions for over 1,000 youth and work experience for under 100 youth, each of the project's two years. Project 3 united a community college and an LEA through its peer counseling and work experience components. The project operated in a large metropolitan area.

The Study. Data for this study were provided by three on-site observers who worked at the sites for two years. They reported observations of project linkages and interviewed the project participants and key informants about those linkages. Of particular interest for this report are the summary protocols that these observers provided. Summary comments and reflections provided the analysis team at Cornell with a synthesis of their observations and interview data about linkages. In addition, the on-site observers received a draft of the case study of their site, and were asked to supplement corrections and additional insights or data.

Each case study will describe the key institutional linkages for the particular project. The roles of the institutions as they relate to the project are discussed, as are the incentives for their roles and the decision-making authority of each institution.

A discussion section follows the three case studies. The impact of the institutional position of the project vis-a-vis the project's ability to implement different types of services will be reviewed. The relationship between comprehensive services for youth and the kind of linkages for those relationships will be examined. Also, the impact of the links on the future of services provided by the institutions will be reviewed.

INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES FOR PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION: THREE CASE STUDIES

Project 1

Project 1 was an alternative junior and senior high school located in a population area of 50,000 to 100,000. The school was operated for two years by a school district (the LEA). It offered a full-day program to a maximum of 50 students and counseling services to an additional 100 students affiliated with an extended day program located within the same school building.

The major institutional linkages were between: (1) the project and the LEA; (2) the project, the LEA and CETA; and (3) the project and other human service agencies within the community. The linkages served to strengthen the program's services to the targeted youth and to win acceptance and LEA financial support for the school that will enable it to continue next year when Youthwork funding ends.

1. LEA, Project Linkages: Multi-level Inter-Institutional Involvement. The project developed relationships with the LEA at various inter-institutional levels. These included: the school board and the superintendent; the middle level LEA administrators; and the secondary school staff.

School Board and the Superintendent. The school board and the superintendent supported the establishment of the school. The on-site observer reported in a summary protocol: "The elected school board and the administration of the city schools have publicly supported this project from its beginning. The need for such a program had been shown as a result of school surveys, city wide surveys, and an assessment of needs of the school presented by a citizen's task force. The central administration proposed the alternative school project and continued to be closely involved with the project."

During the project's two years the school board and superintendent have continued to keep themselves informed of the school's efforts. The superintendent and the associate superintendent of schools acted as the project operator on alternate years. They visited the school regularly, attended most of its functions, and worked closely with the principal/director of the school.

The on-site observer summarized this involvement of the school board:

> The school board had three of its members on the alternative school advisory committee which met at least once each semester. Several of the school board members visited the school to acquaint themselves with it, and one member served as a volunteer at the school. After the first year, the advisory board voted unanimously to recommend that the Board of Education adopt a resolution commending the principal, teachers, and staff for their 'outstanding work in implementing the alternative school program in philosophy, and for the services rendered to students during the school year'. The board of education passed the resolution.

Middle Level Administrators. Linkages developed between the project and middle-level LEA administrators included directors of vocational education, psychological services, attendance, testing, secondary schools, personnel, and community-school relations. The director of personnel helped recruit staff for the school, noting in an interview that the type of teacher differed from that of the regular schools.

The nature of the relationship of these directors most often consisted of authoritative support, their belief being that the school was fulfilling a need within the school system. One director acknowledged this and then described how other directors also shared this perception at an administrative meeting where budgetary plans were being approved for the following school year:

> She mentioned that last week when the proposed budget for the city schools was presented, it included monies for the operation of the alternative school, and permanent faculty positions for the teachers. Usually, she pointed out, when a federal grant is terminated, the school program it funded is also terminated. Therefore, she sees this inclusion in the budget as an acknowledgement by the school system of the value and worth of continuing the alternative school.

Secondary School Staff: Legitimacy of the Alternative School.

Students enrolled in the alternative school because they had disciplinary or academic problems in the traditional school. Students completed work similar to what would be accomplished at the three regular junior and two senior high schools in the district. The alternative school featured smaller classes and individualized instruction, along with counseling and career information classes.

Nine of eleven student interviewed in the spring of the school's first year (1979) indicated that they had entered the alternative program becuase they were doing poorly within a traditional school. Excerpts from interview protocols explain five particular student cases:

> ...Ed* had failed ninth grade and last fall had begun to fall behind again at the junior high. There were "always hassles and fights" and he was not getting along with the other students or the teachers. The guidance counselor recommended that he transfer to the alternative school. He went to visit the school, "saw it, liked it, and decided to go there...at least, it would be better than where I was".

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*All names of people and places used in text are pseudonyms.

> ...Mary said that she had been expelled from the junior high, and was out of school for a few days before coming to the alternative school. She and her mother had heard about the alternative school and came to inquire about it and was accepted.
>
> ...Kenneth said he was "sick of" the junior high he was attending and "couldn't adjust there".
>
> ...During the interview Dan sucked on a lollypop, while slumped in his chair. He would be silent for several seconds after each question and then answer usually in very few words. When asked why he came to Glenwood, he replied, "I had no choice--it was either training school or here". He didn't have any expectations about Glenwood and didn't know anything about it.
>
> ...Mark said he had been "thrown out of school for getting into some trouble". He had not gotten a job, and he had "hung around the house most of the time". He would read the paper each day, and one day in early October he read an article about the alternative school that would soon open for students. It announced that the principal would be Mrs. Dates. Mark recognized her name and picture--she had been administrative assistant at the junior high he had attended and had worked with him there. He called Mrs. Dates at the school, told her he wanted to return to school, and asked if it would be possible to get into the alternative school. She told him a little about the planned program and said if he was still interested he should come with his mother for an interview. Mark and his mother promptly made an appointment and as a result, he was the first student enrolled.

The perceptions of these youth about the choice to enroll in the alternative junior high school illustrated the importance of the school as a viable alternative to a conventional junior or senior high school. It was within this context that the links with the LEA, with the human service agencies in the community, with the local CETA offices, and the business community began to take shape during the two-year life of the program.

Most students were referred to the school by principals and guidance counselors of the home school. After acceptance, the student records were forwarded to the alternative school. The principal at the home school also signed an agreement of support for and cooperation with the program and the student.

Interviews with two principals of the junior high schools indicated support for the school. The on-site observer noted the following conversation with one principal:

> She has been most supportive of the school and spoke positively about it. She said: "It has filled a great need in the school system." She continues to be pleased and impressed with the school and gives much credit to the staff.
>
> When asked how others connected with the school system felt about the alternative school she remarked that she had "heard nothing negative about it". In fact, she mentioned that last week when the proposed budget for the city schools was presented it included monies for the operation of the alternative school and permanent faculty positions for the Glenwood teachers.

This continued support of the school by the different layers of the school district's administration resulted in the decision of the district to finance the school in its third year. The project achieved acceptance by the administration in that they will now make a financial investment in the school. The project always had encouragement, trust, and support by the administration. The actual operation convinced them of its merits and feasibility as a programmatic alternative to meet the needs of these youth.

Secondary School Staff: Follow-up and Role Change in the Traditional School. The LEA school administrators and staff expressed concern about the educational future of these youth after their stay at the alternative school. During the second semester of the school's second year, the guidance counselor initiated visits with youth who returned to their home schools. Because of other demands on her time she expressed: "I do not know if I can keep it up."

The question of a needed follow-up on students who reenter the traditional school brought up two crucial issues concerning the role of the alternative school in relation to the traditional schools. First, it appeared in interviews that administrators supported the temporary shelter for students at the alternative school, be it several months or two years. One administrator noted:

> "They cannot live in a dream world forever. They have to return and cope in the real world...the real world will not be giving them the love and attention they got at the alternative school."

The second issue concerned the role of teachers in the traditional school who will come into contact with those students. The on-site observer described the following comments by administrators to illustrate the dilemmas their teachers experienced; dilemmas between time and willingness to help, and between cooperation and know-how.

> #1. A program should be designed to aid in the transition back to school so there is not an abrupt separation from Glenwood where the students have had a warm loving atmosphere and experience a sense of belonging. While she feels the teachers at the home school should have an active part in the re-entry program, and acknowledges that it "will be difficult" to get the teachers to cooperate with their already busy schedules. "This is an area that needs further study."

#2. "I am sorry to say...the teachers are happy there is an alternative school so that they don't have to deal with those kids." He described how one student reentered and was expelled for behavior problems. He said that there were no plans made for re-entry adjustment. There is a need, he feels, for a "half-way house"---possibly temporary placement in a special skills class at the home school before the student is put back into the regular classes.

He added: "The teachers need to be supportive and expect success. Too often a teacher remembers the student and has the same negative expectations concerning him/her. We need teacher cooperation here to aid in successful return of our students."

He then spoke positively about the alternative school and its program. However he lamented the need for it. "Those students should be able to do as well right here, and we need to find out how that can be done.

'One key certainly is teacher attitude and cooperation. Right now that is definitely lacking here. We are working on it, but we have a long way to go."

#3. This principal felt that students should not return to their junior high home school, but to the senior high after completing ninth grade at the alternate school.

Project funding for the final months during the summer 1980 served a twofold purpose, according to the associate superintendent: (1) dissemination of information about the project, and (2) workshops for regular and alternative school teachers about the content and methods used in the alternative school that could be adapted to the traditional school. The on-site observer reported that these meetings also helped make teachers more aware of the "personal, family, and financial problems that many of the youth face in this school district."

2. LEA, CETA, Project Linkages: A Natural Bridge. The CETA-LEA relationships had been excellent before the project. The associate superintendent reported:

> They need to spend money and we are able to use that money in legitimate ways.

The prime sponsor reported that 80 percent of the YETP funds were being spent on in-school programs, and that the schools have become more aware of the role they could play in programs to train and employ youth:

> It is becoming more clear that CETA can be a natural bridge or transition between school and work and that the two can work well together for youth.

This spirit of cooperation and vision of using CETA money to create more in-school programs for youth characterized the CETA-LEA relationships during the two years of the alternative school project.

The principal/director of the alternative school served as the mediator between the project and CETA. Responsibilities included filing reports, questionnaires, surveys, etc., that were requested by CETA. She also attended occasional meetings with the CETA office and the LEA project operator to air opinions, to answer questions, and to resolve problems.

Two problems that arose centered on CETA paperwork and eligibility of the target group. In both cases CETA facilitated resolution:

> First, record keeping and report filing took considerable staff time. This lessened as personnel became more familiar with guidelines and requirements. Also, as a result of open communication and cooperation, the local Youth Employment Training (YET) office started to certify all youth participants enrolled in the program for eligibility. It was felt that YET was more familiar with the procedure and in this way could relieve the school of one aspect of record keeping and reporting. Also, the YET was conveniently located in the same building as the alternative school.
>
> A second example of problem solving involved the question of allowing students to participate although they did not need the eligibility requirements based on family income. A compromise was reached which allowed for 10 percent of the participants to be above the income level. The school system agreed to provide evaluative information to demonstrate that the inclusion of these students would not adversely affect the objectives to be met by the project.

3. Human Service Agencies, Project Linkages: Comprehensive Services.

Links with human service agencies in the community existed throughout the life of the program, mainly as a means of sharing information that might help the school or agencies provide services to the youth. The principal of the alternative school outlined these functions as follows during an interview.

(1) Department of Social Services--many of the students and their families qualify for services from DSS. Some are in foster homes, some are eligible because of income level. These students continue to be served by DSS. DSS and the administration at Glenwood share information that might be appropriate and helpful for the total well-being of the student. DSS, for instance is more apt to have information concerning the home life than Glenwood. Glenwood, on the other hand, can tell more of the day-to-day attitudes, health, behavior and achievement.

(2) Youth Court Counselors: These counselors work very closely with the students involved with the courts due to infractions of one or more laws. They keep the administration of Glenwood informed and Glenwood provides necessary information to them. Often, for instance, a stipulation of probation is attendance at school. Also court counselors gave a two-week mini course on the Juvenile Justice System recently.

(3) Youth Unlimited: This is a private non-profit group that works with and counsels troubled youth in a "Christian atmosphere". This has been a "tremendous help for some of our students who need and get more in-depth counseling than we can provide."

(4) City Museum: A member of the staff has given talks and demonstrations to the social studies classes last year and this year.

(5) City PTA Council: Worked with Glenwood parents and administration in helping establish the Glenwood PTA.

(6) City Parks and Recreation Department: Provided facility for Glenwood students to have physical education classes. Also provided facility and instructors for bread-making classes and ceramics classes offered as electives to the Glenwood students.

(7) County Technical Institute: Has accepted students referred by Glenwood to work toward their high school equivalency exam. Also, a course in commercial art was taught by one of the instructors who volunteered his time.

(8) County Health Department: Has provided workshops for the students.

(9) Drug Action Counsel: Has worked closely with a group of Glenwood students. A person from the council comes to Glenwood once each week and meets with this group on a "completely confidential basis".

(10) A Y-teens group was formed here at Glenwood last fall and has become a very active group at the school. The girls have become involved in some interesting and enjoyable projects.

The on-site observer noted that incentives for collaboration with the human service agencies were reciprocal. The project could increase services to the youth and avoid duplication of those services, while the human service agencies benefitted by easy access to a target group already identified. The observer reported:

> During the project's first year, a university graduate student served her internship at the YWCA. She wanted to work with a group of "troubled girls". She was able to do this through contact with the alternative school and came on a regular basis. The YWCA has provided personnel since then. A Y teen group was formed during the project's second year to add community and statewide activities for the young people.

Through this collaboration the YWCA was able to make contact with a new target group. The project increased the amount of services available by allowing the YWCA access to the students.

Summary. The alternative school project was successfully implemented for two years in that it delivered services as proposed to the target number of youth. The positive collaboration between CETA and the LEA operator contributed in part to the supportive relationship between the project and CETA. The prime sponsor helped ease certification paperwork by allowing the YET office to handle student forms and by redefining terms of eligibility.

Both the LEA and CETA shared a commitment to serve the CETA eligible target group through in-school programs. The LEA at all staff levels recognized that the schools were not providing adequate programs for these youth and were eager to have the proposal for this special school funded through CETA funding.

The spirit of serving the special needs of this target group also explains the extensive collaboration with the other human service agencies in the community. Services were available through these groups that could not be provided by the small staff of the alternative school. The human service agencies also benefitted by the easy access to a target group in one location.

The impacts on the LEA of such close collaboration were several. First, the LEA agreed to continue the alternative school after Youthwork project funding ended in June 1980. The project had kept the LEA informed of the school program and progress throughout its two years. When the decision for continuing the school was made in the spring of the second year, the school board, administrators, and superintendent all saw the school as a viable and worthwhile venture.

The second impact of the alternative school on the LEA was intra-institutional. The presence of the alternative school might have heightened the level of consciousness of the teachers and principals to the fact that this target group of students was not being adequately served by the traditional schools, and that separate but equal services were not justifiable. Many principals and administrators agreed that the youth needed to be integrated back into the traditional school, but that the services in those schools needed also to be changed in some way. The project served as a catalyst in bringing the secondary school to reassess its ability to serve these youth and to consider ways in which this might be done.

Project 2

A non-profit career guidance agency operated project 2 for two years in a metropolitan area with a population between 100,000 and 500,000. The project consisted of several components designed to impact upon the career awareness of low-income youth. These components included:

1. Youth advisory board.
2. Work experience for 100 youth the first year, 85 the second.
3. Career guidance support centers in five high schools the first year, four the second.
4. Classroom infusion of career awareness into classes of regular high school teachers.
5. Elimination of sex-role stereotyping through training of staff and high school teachers.
6. Junior high school career awareness in project's second year.
7. Inservice training for project staff and high school teachers.

The major institutional linkages developed and/or continued during the two years of this exemplary project were between (1) the project, the non-profit operator and the schools (LEA); (2) the project and the operator; (3) the project, the operator, and CETA; and (4) the project, the operator, and the public sector. These linkages resulted in project implementation for the proposed target number of students. The linkages also impacted upon the service delivery of the non-profit operator and the schools.

1. LEA, Operator, Project Linkages: Multiple Linkages. The "parent" project had a history of sponsoring projects related to career awareness through the schools. The new project built upon those linkages and established new ones, which in turn impacted upon inter-institutional arrangements within the schools.

History of Linkages. The components of the new project resulted from an expansion of activities that the non-profit operator already offered in the schools. During the previous seven years, the "parent" project had established linkages with the LEA central administration, the individual school principals, and the teachers. The county school superintendent was also on the board of directors of the parent project.

The original project proposal planned to target career awareness sessions to the CETA eligible group. Previously, the "parent" project had delivered such services primarily to middle class students. Concurrent with this proposal, the county superintendent's office drafted a separate proposal to fund a work experience program already in existence. At the suggestion of the local prime sponsor, the proposals from the "parent" project and the superintendent's office were merged into one proposal and submitted to Youthwork. The non-profit agency would operate the total project to the satisfaction of the superintendent's office.

The operator depended upon good working relationships with the LEA as a vital part of service delivery. The links gave the operator access to clients, clients being both students and teachers in the schools. One "parent" project administrator said:

> "We probably would not have secured any building space. Also, teachers and counselors would not have been as cooperative." She continued that the success of the parent project really was related to the administrators and how supportive they were, and their willingness to take time to endorse and get behind the project.

New Linkages. The exemplary project placed career specialist teams into the schools to work with the target teachers and the target youth. One project administrator stated that the project would not have been implemented without contact previously established by the parent project.

During the first year the career specialist teams consisted of three persons. Two team members at one school described how they made contact with the target youth and how they established their roles within the school.

> They described a situation where a business man had been visiting their portable classroom behind the school doing a presentation for them, and ran into the football coach. They discovered that the football coach and the businessman were good friends.
>
> After this experience, the football coach wandered into their portable classroom one day and said that he just had not been by, but wanted to check in and said that he had some seniors that really needed some work on goals and wanted someone to work with them. They then set up a series of two-day events specifically for these youth. They also did a computer run for getting information on different colleges and universities, given certain specifications. The coach had checked with them to see if these youth had followed through.
>
> They asked the principal what would be a good time for training, rather than fixing a schedule without his input.

The career specialist teams also organized speakers for classes or assemblies and arranged career carnivals or festivals.

The on-site observer deduced that the role of "expert on site" has evolved in importance as the career specialists have become more familiar in the schools. The on-site observer reported on the interpersonal and professional competencies of the career specialists:

> These individuals are known personally to the teachers and are known to be valuable resources and experts on site. They function as a sympathetic ear to the frustrated teacher who has not been able to reach a certain segment of students in his or her class. They have abundant ideas and materials for these teachers to use, and just being around the schools at different times I have seen it happening.
>
> I think one of the more popular resources provided by the career centers has been the arranging of speakers, drawing upon a pool already in operation under the parent project. Another important resource is the computer service that provides printouts describing occupations in detail.

Another link with the teachers was through the work experience component. Teachers, the career specialist team, and the student negotiate a work experience contract for granting extra credit for keeping a log, giving a presentation about the work experience, or some other arrangement.

Impact of linkages: Intra-institutional changes. The English curriculum at one high school was altered partly because of the activities of the career specialist team at that high school during the project's first year. One team member reported:

> As a result of the project's experience last year, the English teachers are doing the tracking system again. They had been mainstreaming all the youth. Now the whole English department got together this year and they changed their curriculum to provide a lower track. This stresses self-confidence, telephone skills, interviewing skills, and job applications.

The career specialist continued to describe how the English teachers came to acknowledge that students lacked some basic skills and that they needed to teach them. Many of the skills, such as those listed by the team specialist were similar to skills taught by the career team during the projects first year in 10 of the 20 English classes. One frustration expressed by the target teachers during the first year was the impossibility of much follow-through by career team members who were trying to reach a large number of students and teachers. During the first year the English curriculum change was implemented, the dropout rate from freshman English classes was reduced by 50 percent.

One of the high schools which housed a career team decided that they needed to finance a career guidance specialist. The "parent" project helped the LEA set up a new career center and the project shared this space during its second year. The "parent" project "provided money for kits and paid a secretary for the computer terminal and materials."

At another school, the career specialist from the project received multiple requests from career placement groups expressing a desire for entree into the school. These requests were channeled to her by the principal. In turn, she requested a work aide from the principal. The specialist felt sure that her services would be funded by the school should the federal project end.

2. Operator, Project Linkages: Intra-institutional Changes. The non-profit operator underwent changes due in part to its involvement with the exemplary project. These included: 1) service delivery for the CETA eligible; 2) administrative reorganization; and 3) growth in self-esteem.

The exemplary project was the operator's first experience with service delivery targeted primarily toward the disadvantaged. The on-site observer reported these reflections:

> During the project's two years the operator has made dramatic contacts, dramatic inroads toward working with disadvantaged youth, using a model that had heretofore been primarily targeted at middle class youth.
>
> I think it has been necessary for the operator and the project staff, who have been very middle class and whose experience has been middle class, to learn to deal more effectively with the disadvantaged population.
>
> I have seen them struggle with this last year. I think they have come a long way from last year to this year. I think they are far more able (1) to describe the needs of these youth; and (2) to provide more relevant services to them.

The on-site observer described an in-service program for target teachers entitled "Building Success" that reflected this growth in understanding:

> I do not believe that they ever dealt with the issues of alienated youth quite as in-depth as they did in this session.

Another impact on the operator was administrative reorganization. The project's visibility, paperwork, and size caused the top administrative staff of the project operator to experience great pressures that removed them to some extent from the workings of the project staff at the service delivery level. The project hired a consultant to help them plan a reorganization. The plan included positions for a business manager and a director of research, planning, and analysis. These changes would help the project handle the administrative paperwork necessary for federal projects, engage in more long-term planning, and handle large grants more easily. Two directors would work on instruction and school relations.

A third impact of the exemplary project on the operator was the growth in self-esteem. The operator had previously achieved national recognition by a guidance review panel for developing an exemplary career awareness model. The exemplary project brought recognition, also, in the form of many references to Washington, D.C., and the prestige that could be associated with those linkages. References to such linkages were made during staff development meetings. Included also in this linkage were trips and meetings that made people feel that they were important and doing something worthwhile.

3. Operator, CETA, Project Linkages: A Beginning. The operator formed its first linkages with CETA through the exemplary project. Prior to this project, the operator had failed to compete successfully with CBOs in securing grants for federal projects. The prime sponsor explained that he considered it easier for this operator to continue links with the schools in the exemplary project grant competition than for the CBOs to initiate those links.

Following the creation of this new linkage, the operator experienced further success in subsequent grant competitions with the CBOs. The operator secured a Follow Through grant to provide work experience and academic credit to CETA county employees. The project experienced great frustrations becoming accustomed to the DOL guidelines, regulations, and time lines that were not in accord with school schedules and school policies respecting student anonymity.

4. Operator, Public Sector, Project Linkages: A Beginning. The project placed students inpublic sector work experience jobs. Although the job developers had had extensive contacts previous to the DOL project with the private sector, the grant specified that job placements for youth be in the public sector. Work was 100 percent subsidized. They were able to secure placements, often creatively, such as in cosmetology though a state-operated company.

The on-side observer reported that the work experience employers showed great appreciation of the program. The project produced a supervisors manual to help them in working with the disadvantaged student. Several employers commented that they would use this manuel with their regular employees.

Summary. The institutional linkages that took place during the implementation of project 2 were between the project and the non-profit operator, the LEA, CETA, and the public sector. The linkages worked to promote project implementation as planned in the proposal.

The project's entry into the schools benefitted from past LEA linkages with the operator. New linkages centered on contact between the career specialist teams in the high schools and junior high schools and the target teachers and students. The specialists sometimes became recognized experts on site. They had contacts with the target group in classes or in the career center, often when providing a career information service or negotiating a work experience contract. One school decided to offer a lower track basic skills English course, with a curriculum including content similar to that offered by the career specialist team. Another school hired a career guidance specialist.

The project impacted upon service delivery of the operator; the operator learned to tailor their career awareness sessions to the disadvantaged students. The large size of the project also contributed to administrative reorganization of the operator, increasing their ability to administer budgets, paperwork, and research, and keep in touch with staff in the field. The project also increased their self-esteem and national recognition as an operator.

The operator formed a new link with CETA through the project and also received approval of another large follow through grant the second year. The exemplary project opened the door to other government grants through CETA. The operator secured placements for the youth in the public sector, with 100 percent government subsidization.

The on-site observer speculated that the incentives for the linkages could be attributed to "community consciousness and good will", "professionalism" of the non-profit operator, and "fiscal incentives". (1) All linking institutions felt some obligation to provide different or more successful services to the CETA target group. (2) The non-profit operator had an established its reputation for career awareness during the past seven years. The observer reported: "They presented themselves well. They were skillful, articulate, competent people. In addition, they presented things in writing." (3) The public sector accepted students, partly because the work experience component was 100 percent subsidized and partly for good will. The project operator sought the grant as an attractive opportunity for their organization, given that funding from previous sources was less available. It seemed as though this grant provided the entree to successfully compete for funds for the disadvantaged. The on-site observer reflected: "I think that the operator now will compete for those funds for disadvantaged youth, but it is obvious that if they are not successful in competing, the operator will not focus its activities on disadvantaged youth." In essence, the observer concluded that availability of funds would dictate the target audience for career services

Project 3

Project 3 formed a consortium between a board of education (an LEA) and a community college. The consortium operated the project in a highly populated metropolitan area for almost two years. Ninety high school students participated in work experience, and eleven college students were hired as paraprofessionals to assist the project staff with recruitment and processing of high school students.

The major linkages formed for project implementation were between the LEA, the college, and CETA. Each bureaucracy had multiple and sometimes overlapping roles in programmatic and administrative decisions. This resulted in extended project negotiations that caused delayed implementation, fewer students served than originally projected, and fewer services for the students. The programmatic and administrative decisions centered on (1) the peer counselors component, and (2) the work experience component.

1. Peer Counselors: LEA, CETA, College, Project. The peer counselor component of the project was considered by Youthwork as a unique feature of the project. In fact, this component embodied the major linkage between the community college and the LEA, as the college students would counsel high school students involved in the work experience component of the project. Problems of coordination and decision making surfaced as unexpected obstacles to implementation of this component.

Coordination problems first involved training of the peer counselors. The LEA had processed 200 student applications for work slots in spring 1979. Since the college peer counselors had not yet been trained, the project came to a standstill and did not place the high school students.

A second stage of difficulties with project implementation occurred in the late spring and early summer. The inavailability of job developers, peer counselors and students presented the development of a summer component. Peer counselors not selected for the project were paid from project funds for work with incoming Freshmen. The college claimed that their work was therefore associated with the project. Youthwork however took a different view, placed the project on probation for this activity, and the expended funds were subsequently returned to the project budget. The third stage occurred in late fall and winter of the project's second year. Student recruiting began again in the fall and students were placed in work experience situations even before the selection and training of the peer counselors, who were not given school assignments until December. Peer counselors had to travel to the LEA high schools and meet with students who were not in classes. The LEA coordinator explained the logistics of this operation to the on-site observer:

> The LEA coordinator will develop time schedules when students can be available in the schools. The college staff will attempt to develop schedules for the peer counselors to watch the students' schedules.
>
> This now poses a difficult time problem, both with respect to finding a period when the student will be free, and in allowing the peer counselors as much as two hours for travel for a one hour (or one period) meeting with a student.
>
> All this assumes that the peer counselors can meet with the students in the absence of the school liaison person who, presumably, will arrange for the "interfacing".
>
> While the schedules were being coordinated, the LEA, the college,

and CETA had shared concerns about the role of peer counselors vis-a-vis the students. An unanticipated number of concerns surfaced from all fronts, resultingin a lengthy decision-making process about peer counselor roles and eligibility. These concerns included:

> ...CETA wanted assurance that peer counselors who were academically acceptable were also CETA eligible.
>
> ...A college student group wanted assurance that minorities were included.
>
> ...The LEA, including guidance counselors, wanted assurance that peer counselors were qualified.

The discussions led to several changes in the peer counselor role descriptions. First, it was planned that they would counsel high school students in career plans. Next, they would do sporadic counseling and file applications. Finally, all parties agreed that the peer counselors, now called paraprofessional aides or "paras", would help with recruitment and intake of high school students at the school sites.

CETA's participation in the decision-making process went beyond vocal advocacy of adhering to guidelines, such as the eligibility of peer counselors. CETA also played a part in approval of budget modification, and that process proved to be lengthy. After the project was placed on probation in the summer of 1979, CETA monitored the project closely and would not advance staff and peer counselor pay before budget modifications were approved. Staff and peer counselors consequently had to deal with the troublesome problem of "no pay" for five months, receiving their checks in February 1980 when the budget modification was finally approved. The observer reported: "Having gone several months without a reimbursement, the on-site observer was completely sympathetic with these people about their situation."

Inter-institutional support from the college for their project staff was not forthcoming, mainly because the college administration had undergone staffing changes of a new president and dean. The exemplary project was apparently not high on their list of priorities for needed attention. Another natural support factor from the college that was lacking was the characteristics of the college population. Most students were over 21 and therefore not eligible for paid participation in employment sites.

The on-site observer noted:

> The proposal called for a sizeable number of college students, aside from the peer counselors who were considered part of the project staff, to be involved in workshop training programs. Nine of these students were to be placed in work situations. Several of the workshops were held but the attendance was poor and at this time it was "discovered" that few, if any, of the college students were under 21.
>
> In mid-January of the project's second year this part of the college program was deleted and no college students were placed in employment situations. At this time the college part of the program was reorganized, the college coordinator dismissed, and the college-related effort was focused on the in-school work of six to seven peer counselors. The remaining four peer counselors worked at the college for the balance of the program.

The coordination of schedules and decision-making process involved in role definition resulted in a more precise and perhaps operational definition of what the peer counselors would do vis-a-vis the students, as well as a less ambitious and responsible role.

The requirement that the institutions form linkages to coordinate this project appeared after the two organizations had filed the proposal. In other words, the plan that the two organizations work closely together on this project was not a part of either organization's proposal. But rather, the plan was a requirement by Youthwork imposed upon them as a condition for receiving the grant.

2. Work Experience: LEA, CETA, Private, and Public Sector Project. Ninety high school students mainly worked in public sector placements after school hours. The program had originally included plans for career awareness workshops to be conducted by the college guidance counselor and peer counselors, but these were never effected. Near the end of the program some efforts were made in this direction. The on-site observer described what happened in these sessions:

> Specifically, groups of students were brought to the educational center. In group sessions, the students completed a questionnaire that involved statements (checks) about their interests, preferences, etc. This information was fed into a computer that returned information regarding types of occupations that might fit their interests, etc.
>
> The questionnaire was completed by at least half of the students and the print-out results were discussed with most of them. The type of feed-back was informative but time did not permit discussion of the results with individual students.

The on-site observer commented about the programmatic consequences of depending on this linkage which did not occur:

> In general there have been no in-depth linkages established with the students. There have been contacts with all of the students, but these have been brief and served no major counseling purpose. The students have entered employment without job readiness preparation and there have been few opportunities for the staff to hold in-depth discussion with students since that time.
>
> There has been some follow-up with students, but this has been indirect, i.e., through conversations with their employers when the latter are contacted for time sheets.

Staff contact with students centered in intake and placement activities. The on-site observer reported that contact with students after placement was limited:

> Contacts with the students thereafter were limited to brief conversations when the students came to pick up their paychecks. Since large numbers of students came at the same time and had to be processed in a matter of an hour or two, there was no opportunity for individual conversation. There were some exceptions, e.g., when a student had a particular employment-related problem.

The project staff did make contact with the employers about student performance near the end of the program. The results were documented on a form prepared for this purpose, and it is expected that this information should become part of the student's school record.

Another instance of contact occurred at the work site between the supervisor and the student. The following comments by supervisors helps ascertain the nature of the relationship.

> Day Care Center #1. The director was very pleased with the work performance of the three students. He felt that they were interested and certainly helpful. They were working at tasks that needed to be done and it was not a "make work" situation. The director felt that the students were a great help to the program and he was of the firm opinion that the program and its staff were providing assistance and experience that were valuable to the students. They were treated as regular employees and they participated in all the activities of the school that were being carried out at the time of day (3-6 p.m.) when the students were present.
>
> The director felt that the program was very much worthwhile, but he felt that they could be of greatest service to students when they are held accountable for quality work and are trained to handle their work in a responsible manner. The students seem to be eager participants, they are always on time and they do their work under the supervisor of program teachers and staff.
>
> The director indicated that the staff, on many occasions, discuss with the students the work of the day care centers, teaching, career possibilities, etc.
>
> Department of Health. A supervisor reported that the staff of the facility are interested in the four students and often discuss work-related matters with the students, the importance of continuing their education, etc.
>
> The students work at a number of types of jobs in the facility, for example, they act as messengers, they handle the telephone, serve as file clerks, assist in packaging school materials, etc. The students have an opportunity to become involved in all the departments of the facility, such as dental, child care, eye, immunization, working papers, etc.
>
> Day Care Center #2. Two teachers and the director participated in the interview about two students. Jean works well with the children in 1/1 situations but has some difficulties in adjusting to group situations. Although she came to the program without prior experience in this area, she apparently brought several ideas that she felt the school should carry out. This could not be done, according to one of the teachers, and Jean seemed to lose some of her enthusiasm.
>
> Emily is also working out well although, according to the director, she has more personal problems than a sixteen year old should have to bear. The staff discuss her problems with her and attempt to help her as much as they can.

> The director indicated that they kept some type of record of job performance and would be willing to feed back information of this type to the program staff. Apparently, no provisions have been made, as of January 1980, for such feedback, although this is obviously important to both the program and to the student.

As indicated by the comments of the observer and the work site supervisors, decisions about work and interaction with students were left to the employers once the placements occurred. Incentives for the link between employers and youth were largely financial. The placements were mostly in the public sector, at worksites much as day care centers, that were anxious to have fully subsidized personnel. One employer did mention that she felt that students, such as Emily at day care center #2, did need such a program:

> She (the worksite supervisor) is concerned about the welfare of the youth and feels that work at the school provides a support for Emily. Obviously, she hopes that the program can continue and that Emily can continue to work at the school during the summer. As with other day care centers, city and state guidelines prevent the employment of youths under 18 or without their high school diploma.

Another factor that simplified the public sector placement was that the certification and payroll processing were handled by a department within the LEA that was very familiar with YETP procedures.

Originally the project planned to place two-thirds of the students in private sector placements. The project would reimburse the employer for one-half of their wages. The project placed four students in private sector slots. The on-site observer reported that the placement process was slow, due to a slow certification procedure at CETA, to difficulty in locating employers to pay 50 percent of student's salary, and to employers being more selective than in the public sector. The final straw came when the LEA had difficulty budgeting in funds to reimburse the employers. The LEA coordinator reported to the on-site observer that this became a rather time-consuming problem:

> The coordinator indicated that the funds had not yet been made available for payment to the private sector employers and he hears from them often (March 1980). He indicates that a great deal of his time is consumed in responding to their inquiries and complaints. It is not anticipated that additional private sector work assignments will be made.

Linkages established between the LEA coordinator and another CETA funded project made it possible for the high school work experience students to be placed in subsidized summer employment of the CETA project. The on-site observer reported that a phone call to the director indicated that it was likely that most, or all, of the students were working. The observer's random check with two students indicated this to be the case. The LEA coordinator had facilitated the placements by submitting the student applications prior to the end of the school year.

Summary. Project 3 depended upon the cooperation of three large bureaucracies for implementation. The peer counselor component of the project depended upon schedule coordination of staff and students within the three bureaucracies as well as input into the role definitions of the peer counselors. The result of the lengthy negotiations was delayed implementation and a limited use of the peer counselors. The failure of the peer counselor component becomes more understandable when viewing this component as a ex post facto feature tacked to two proposals submitted independently by two institutions.

Failure of the peer counselor component also affected plans for the work experience component targeted toward high school students. The career awareness sessions for the work experience students as originally planned were never effected, but near the end of the program some efforts were made in this direction. However, interview and observation data indicate that the interactions between the work site supervisors and the students served this function to some extent. It is ironic that this linkage between the public sector employers and the students proved to be the most successful linkage, as it did not depend upon "institutional linking", but rather upon one-on-one relationships. On the one hand, the LEA did facilitate this relationship, simply by noninterference. That is, the LEA allowed students to be contacted through the schools, but students worked after school and did not receive any academic credit. On the other hand, the LEA had a separate department that was attuned to processing youth credentials for YETP grants, and this department serviced the exemplary project in an expeditious manner. The private sector linkage failed because of CETA's slow credentialing process, and because of the LEA's problem with reimbursing the employers. In conclusion, one must ask of this project whether the linkages were really necessary.

DISCUSSION: INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES

The three case studies of the exemplary in-school career awareness projects demonstrated three distinct roles of the project operators. The three project operators each assumed roles vis-a-vis the LEA, CETA, the public sector, and the other human service agencies that impacted upon implementation, the types of services delivered, and consequent institutionalization of the project ideas and programs.

Operator Roles in the Linkages. Project 1 was operated by an LEA and was closely linked to multiple administrative and delivery levels of the LEA. The relationship of the project to the LEA, CETA, and the human service agencies had been characterized as cooperative, in that these organizations were supportive. The operator served as an engineer who designed plans for implementation of a program's idea deemed worthwhile by CETA and the LEA.

Project 2 was operated by a non-profit organization that had a history of good working relationships implementing career awareness projects in LEAs. The non-profit operator's linkages with CETA and the public employment sector commenced with the in-school project and grew quickly. The relationships with these organizations resulted from the operator's ability as an entrepreneur, that is, its ability to adapt services and administration to a changing marketplace for career awareness activities.

An LEA and a community college collaborated together as a consortium to operate project 3. Project implementation depended upon shared decision making by both bureaucracies. CETA also took an active role in decision making. To the extent that the three bureaucracies could agree on schedules and roles of peer counselors, the extent of services decreased and implementation was slow. All bureaucracies were in a sense gatekeepers of their institutional norms and culture.

The three roles of engineer, entrepreneur, and gatekeeper each impacted upon (1) the project's ability to be implemented; (2) the types of services delivered; and (3) the institutionalization of the project ideas and programs.

1. Project Implementation. The LEA's role as engineer in project 1 helped gain acceptance for the project from the start. The project idea had been with the community for several years, but without funding until the Youthwork projects. The LEA designed plans for the alternative school and provided supports at multiple levels of the schools to staff the project, provide students, and maintain services. In addition, the operator had a history of healthy working relationships with CETA. By supplying the project with access to these supports, implementation of the project to the targeted number of students with services as planned was enhanced.

The non-profit operator's role in project 2 as entrepreneur also enhanced project implementation. The CETA grant formed a new link for this operator. The operator's capacity to deal with paperwork, changing regulations, and slow funding showed a great ability to absorb pressures and be flexible. The project's alteration of former services to meet the needs of a new clientele--the CETA disadvantaged--demonstrated a willingness to meet new demands.

The consortium members each had institutional norms and a culture that impeded collaboration on the project. The program operators became gatekeepers. It has been noted that the idea of collaboration appeared ex post facto of the proposals from both institutions. One may speculate that the idea of collaboration was incompatible with counseling standards of the LEA and was impractical from a practical standpoint of the age and physical location of the community college. It appears that the most successful link of the project was between the individual students and their work site supervisors in the public sector--in effect, a non-institutional linkage. The activities of the students at the work sites and their interactions with the supervisors were not planned or monitored by the operators and did not happen during LEA time.

2. Types of Service Delivery. Project 1 created an intensive service, an alternative school, closely linked to the traditional public schools. This close coordination and supervision of the school may be partly explained by the role of the LEA as engineer, taking care to design the services as part of the total system.

Project 2 offered several components. Among them were the work experience, the career awareness sessions for students, training sessions for teachers, and career centers. The entrepreneur was able to tailor some services they had previously delivered to the new project, as well as create new ones. The services took place in the high schools during and after class time.

Project 3 was successful in placing students in work experience after school time. This did not interfere with the gatekeeping functions of the operators, but in fact, worked around them. Unsuccessful components fell victim to institutional norms and the cultures of both institutions.

3. Institutionalization of Project Ideas and Programs. One of the most important questions relating to project linkages is: What

happens to the programs after the Youthwork money ends?

Project 1 will continue as an alternative school funded by the LEA operator. The exemplary in-school project provided the LEA engineer an opportunity to test its plan for feasibility. Success meant that it decided to integrate it into its total program with financial support.

LEA administrators continued to question the principle involved in creating separate services for the CETA-eligible target group. On the one hand, they recognized that the needs of this group were not presently being met by their schools. On the other hand, they feared that isolation from their peers who were successful in the traditional schools could have long-range impacts on their ability to deal with the real world, not only in school but out of school. This recognition of the dangers inherent in creating separate services made the project staff at the alternative school insist upon maintaining standards, but through intensive individualized instruction. The central administrators and high school administrators stressed that re-entry into the traditional schools was necessary, even if perhaps not until high school. But they felt that re-entry should happen and that the schools would have to consider changing their programs and what people did in the programs to better meet the needs of this group. One might speculate that the second impact of the project was to bring this agenda to the forefront and to start people talking about it.

Project 2 will end with the funding. However, several impacts were felt by the schools and by the operator. One school altered its curriculum for English, instituting a lower track for youth needing skills similar to those offered through the project. The value of such an impact needs to be considered seriously, as such a curriculum lessens the opportunities for advancement of some youth, particularly if they cannot move outside of such a track. On the other hand, this reform did lessen the dropout rate of English students, so its merits cannot be easily dismissed. The important factor is that the entrepreneur having both interpersonal and professional competencies introduced new methods and content into the curriculum that appealed to the youth and to teachers. However, the innovation was not of a structural nature to change the school day for the youth, nor to change the classes for the year. The innovation did impact upon the structure of English classes for some students.

Other program components from the entrepreneur may or may not continue. One school decided to buy the time for a career guidance specialist and to start a center. Personnel at another school thought that the principal might be similarly inclined if project monies ran out.

It is difficult to speculate about the impact of project 3 on the institution as significant. The work experience component, the most successful component, was implemented with little involvement on the part of the schools. It appears that if the LEA and the college received another grant, they too would hire special project staff to implement the project with little or no input from the on-going LEA staff. Hopefully, the experiences of this project could be used in designing and implementing a more effective project, if another grant were received.

CHAPTER SIX

JOB CREATION THROUGH YOUTH-OPERATED PROJECTS[1]

Introduction

Job creation through youth-operated projects was selected as a program focus for Youthwork, Inc., because the area raised important issues in national policy toward youth. Youth are normally the consumers of employment/training services and are not involved in the decision-making arenas. As consumers only, youth have been denied important experiences and skills that could be gained from being actively involved from the planning stage through the creation, implementation, and completion of the project effort. The Department of Labor and Youthwork, Inc., (DOL Application Guidelines--Exemplary Program, 1978) have considered this involvement of youth the primary distinction between exemplary programs chosen for this area and programs supported under the other focal areas.

In its design of a pilot Youth Enterprises Development Corporation, the Work Institute of America cited the "need to find ways to create youth-operated enterprises to: (1) increase opportunities, (2) provide outlets for youth leadership abilities, and (3) provide training in management and entrepreneurship." Youth-operated projects were established to give youth a chance to manage their own affairs. In clarifying its aims, the Institute stated (1979:31):

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[1] Special thanks go to Pam Dickey, Paul De Largy, Tim Hatfield, Sharon Levine, and Ruth Morgenson. Extensive use of summaries provided by them have been used in the preparation of this chapter.

> The solution of the youth employment problem has become synonymous with the development of programs to prepare youth for employment in institutional settings and in activities planned and operated by adults. In most respects, this is as it should be because (1) large numbers of youth will be helped in this fashion, and (2) most will eventually have to work in large institutional settings.
>
> But not all are best helped by "enrollment" in such organized activities, and not all have to work for large organizations. An unknown but significant number of youth in the inner city have leadership ability and no way in which to exercise it. It is a mistaken assumption that all youth who live in the inner city and are without jobs are unpracticed in organizing, persuading, identifying opportunity, and taken advantage of it. Street life and a wide range of economic activities that, if not extralegal, are not advertised in the Yellow Pages, have given some youth in slums opportunities to develop these talents. They are a base on which to build.

Youth-operated projects are an example of a federal program trying to capitalize on skills youth have already developed. Using skilled community persons as advisers, youth are allowed to participate in the on-going economic life of the community in a meaningful way. The goal of this effort is to enable increasing numbers of poor youth to participate in the labor market successfully.

PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

The Youthwork grant process selected 12 projects for funding within the youth-operated category. The sites are both rural and urban and have served anywhere from 30 to 300 economically disadvantaged youth. The total number expected to be involved in the projects is approximately 1,750 youth. Three projects are located in major cities with populations exceeding one million people. Four are located in cities with populations between 100,000 and 500,000 people. Three are in cities not quite large enough to qualify as prime sponsors but with populations over 50,000, and two projects are in very remote rural areas. Each of the twelve youth-operated projects are described below:

Site 1: A student-operated planning, management, supervision, and personnel office.

Site 2: An alternative learning center that will provide opportunities for career education through work experience.

Site 3: A career planning and youth employment and placement service.

Site 4: A center providing career counseling, remedial instruction in basic skills, and work experience.

Site 5: A youth-operated recycling center accompanied by career guidance and counseling.

Site 6: A youth-operated business with academic credit offered through several alternative schools.

Site 7: A school-sponsored program offering training in agricultural swine production, child development and care, constructions skills, and business office skills.

Site 8: Youth-operated businesses giving academic credit for what young people learn.

Site 9: A school-sponsored program granting academic credit for competencies acquired through work experience.

Site 10: A youth-operated print shop and newspaper.

Site 11: A youth-operated business leading to academic credit.

Site 12: A youth-operated project that provides work experiences, counseling, academic credit for basic skills attainment.

Of the twelve sites, four provided data for this report. The other eight projects have either ceased functioning or no longer have on-site observers as a part of their research strategy. Each project has operated, at least in part, from local school facilities. The sites have been in operation for up to 21 months. Table 1 presents a summary of program characteristics for youth-operated projects.

FINDINGS

CASE STUDY #1

This project proposed to create fourteen youth-run Youth-Site committees to "broker" youth services to the community. Ninety youth were to be hired and were to work a maximum of 15 hours per week over a 78-week period. An additional 60 youth were to participate, allowing for turnover. A central youth committee was to be created to oversee the work of the 14 site committees. Through this model, youth were to be encouraged to contact whatever agency, business, or individual who could most effectively assist them in the development of individual projects.

TABLE 1

Characteristics of Youth-Operated Sites

program[a]	operator[b]	population range (in thousands)	where program is conducted[c]	date of program initiation
A	CBO	50-250	training center	Feb. 1979
B	LEA	1000+	school	Dec. 1978
C*	CONSORTIUM	0-50	training center	Oct. 1978
D	LEA	1000+	training center	Mar. 1979
E	CONSORTIUM	0-50	school	Oct. 1978
F	LEA	50-250	school	--
G	Tribe	0-50	training center	--
H	CBO	1000+	--	--
I	CONSORTIUM	50-250	school	Jan. 1979
J*	LEA	50-250	school	Dec. 1978
K*	LEA	0-50	school	Nov. 1978
L	LEA	250-500	school	Sep. 1978

[a] Programs with an asterisk provided data for this report.

[b] LEA = local education agency; CBO = community based organization; CONSORTIUM = combination of agencies come together to foster youth programs.

[c] Training centers are located at facilities owned by these organizations.

Specific Linkages and How They Worked

The internal linkages at this project have been primarily among the various service efforts, advisers,, and agencies. Inter-institutional linkages were limited to those with the larger CETA network. The lack of inter-institutional linkages at this project was all the more interesting in that the project was developed as a result of linkages among several youth-serving agencies in the community. This group was called the youth consortium.

The Consortium

The consortium wrote the proposal for this project. It was organized as a response to a federal dictum that agencies could not submit another Title VI (CETA PSE) proposal in the same form as the previous proposal. The consortium was organized to write a joint proposal. As this effort was coming to an end, the application guidelines for the Youthwork programs were published. The members of the consortium felt that the consortium would be a good vehicle for coordinating a project such as that outlined in the Youthwork proposal guidelines.

The original intent of the program was that the consortium would be the program operator. However, the consortium never was the program operator because it lacked the administrative and technical facilities to take on such a task. A CETA employee was hired to head the project, and control was shifted from the consortium to CETA. Various interpretations have been suggested for this shift of responsibility. One former Youth Consortium official felt that:

> ...it was always assumed that CETA would administer the project since the youth consortium was not a legally incorporated body and none of the individual agencies had the facilities to run a large county-wide rather than city-wide program (1/80).

Another participant suggested that:

> ...one reason was that the director chosen for the program happened to be a CETA employee. She pointed out that any other agency could have suggested an employee for the director position and thus, retain control over the project (1/80).

The major linkage between the consortium and the project was through the "advisory committee" set up by the consortium to help run the project. This committee helped the project director over some early rough spots and provided technical expertise to the various individual projects by screening preliminary proposals of the youth. In this manner, the committee could exercise veto power over the project's activities. However, the observer suggests that on closer scrutiny:

> ...it seems apparent that the members of the committee were not representatives of the youth consortium as much as they were representatives of their specific agencies. This was obvious during committee meetings when one committee member very clearly demonstrated in his questioning of youth who had written the proposal that he had loyalties to other "competing" sites (5/80).

The Youth Consortium ceased to operate during the spring of 1979 for a variety of reasons that were not connected with the exemplary project. A major reason was that CETA monitors found serious problems with the Title VI project. The basic problem was that people were not doing what their job description called for. These problems soon monopolized the monthly meetings, which led to organizations (that did not have a Title VI project) losing interest in the consortium.

The demise of the consortium brought to an end any hope that the project would be able to become linked with the wider community. When the consortium folded, most agencies lost interest in the exemplary project and instead of being actively involved with the youth project at their site as was proposed, their only role was that of landlord.

Selection of an Adviser

The agencies where youth were involved in a service effort were originally to provide an adviser from its own professional staff. This person would serve as a link between the service effort and the agency and facilitate the sharing of services both with the host agency and other agencies.

The motivation for the adviser was to have been his/her concern for the welfare of youth plus an interest in participating in an exciting, experimental program. It was assumed that a person of some responsibility at the agency would choose to serve as group adviser. This assumption was unrealistic. Agency staff were simply not willing to undertake another demanding commitment.

As a result of the failure to recruit professional staff from the agencies, all of the service efforts were headed either by persons who had no formal affiliation with the host agency or else by persons of fairly low rank in the organization. This resulted in the planned host/exemplary relationship becoming a "landlord/tenant relationship" where the host agency had little interaction with the youth project. A second consequence was the diminished ability of the youth project to draw on services from other agencies in the community.

The adviser situation changed in later stages of the project as the students began to choose their own advisers. This resulted in the further limiting of the contact between the youth since effort and the host agency. Supposedly, this lack or contact between the adviser and the service agencies was to be balanced by the new adviser's experience in an area related to the kind of work that the vouth project was involved in. This too did not work as anticipated. The adviser to the new restaurant was hired supposedly because he had business and bookkeeping experience. As far as the observer could determine:

> ...his only related experience was a bookkeeping course in high school and art experience which helped considerably in the decoration of the new store. He had no restaurant experience.

The Prime Sponsor

The CETA prime sponsor adopted the project after it became apparent that the Youth Consortium could not operate it. The observer at the project felt that CETA was given control for the following reasons: (1) the ability to handle the massive amounts of paperwork; (2) the presence of an employee who was suitable for the position of project director; and (3) the fact that it was an agency that could request funds. Its exercise of control over the program, however, fluctuated. The assistant director of CETA had veto power and used it at all times. The observer provided an example:

> The assistant director visited one project, a novelty shop, and was not pleased by either the goods or the services. He saw the project as selling materials that were offensive to the community and he ordered the store closed (3/80).

CETA's internal problems also affected the project. Political problems in CETA led at one time to a demand for increased publicity, accountability, and paperwork. One member of the advisory committee felt that the internal needs of CETA affected the project in a deeper, more long lasting way. The project had had minimal links with the local educational establishment. This informant thought that one reason for this was what he saw as the major goal of CETA--to put as many people to work as possible. In his opinion, the project sacrificed quality for quantity, dealing with many youth superficially rather than giving fewer youth a more intensive educational experience. This informant summarized his feelings as follows: "The learning process was secondary to getting people jobs."

Synopsis and Discussion for Case Study #1

The earliest linkage established at this project was the one that eventually led to the creation of the project itself. The youth consortium was made up of a group of agencies that served youth in the local community. According to the on-site observer:

> ...The youth consortium was to provide many of the ties between the exemplary program and other non-profit agencies in the local community (5/80).

The consortium had not functioned since June 1979, and with its demise came the severing of most of the linkages that had been originally established through this group. One reason for the demise of the youth consortium was its failure to become institutionalized. When individual members changed jobs or lost interest in the affairs of the group, the agency that had originally appointed this person did not bring someone else on board as a replacement. This, perhaps, was related to the initial task the youth consortium was created to perform.

The consortium was originally created to apply for Title VI (CETA) funds. The individual agencies had been told by the federal government that they could not apply for these funds with the same proposal as the previous year. The agencies came together and wrote a joint proposal. The proposal was subsequently accepted.

About the time that the joint proposal was accepted, the announcement for the Youthwork Exemplary Demonstration Project had become public and members of the consortium saw this as an opportunity to bring more money into their agencies to serve needy youth. The exemplary project stressed linkage and coordination among the various groups, and the youth consortium proved to be an ideal vehicle through which to submit a grant application. Once the grant was accepted, it became immediately apparent that the consortium did not have the administrative means or know-how to run the program. It was subsequently decided that the prime sponsor would act as operator and that each of the local agencies would have its own project to conduct under the auspices of the CETA-operated project.

The other major linkage between the project and the host agency involved the selection of an adviser for each group. Theoretically, the adviser was to be a professional staff person of the agency and was to act as adviser because of his or her active interest in having youth involved in community affairs. However, the idea never became reality. Many of the advisers turned out to be college students or other people in the community who had little or no relationship to the organization which was supposed to be sponsoring the project. The failure to link with the proposed sponsoring agency through the adviser position posed problems for the various youth service efforts. The extra effort that was required of the inexperienced advisers to create relationships with other agencies took both time and energy away from the primary task of developing a youth-operated business.

Incentive for Linkage

The incentives evolved over time. In the proposal, professional people and experts were expected to become involved as advisers because of the experimental nature of the program and because of their interest in seeing youth involved. This did not work. Subsequently, monetary incentives had to be devised to attract advisers. Because of the low wage eventually offered, the persons attracted were not what the original proposal had envisioned. Further complications arose when certain landlords insisted upon greater incentives to allow the youth to rent their property.

There has been very little organized private sector involvement at this project. In Spring 1980, the project had attempted to link with the local Private Industry Council (PIC) to garner more private sector participation and expertise. The results of this effort have yet to become visible.

Decision-Making Authority

Decision-making authority at this project has been vested in the project director and her employer, the CETA prime sponsor. In the beginning, the youth consortium acted as an advisory board and helped the project director to work through many of the problems associated with implementation of the project. When the youth consortium disbanded,much of the shared decision-making that had previously occurred ceased.

CASE STUDY #2

The goal of this project was to establish a solar energy cooperative with youth learning all of the skills related to solar technology and providing the skilled labor for the cooperative. A non-profit organization with a strong background in solar energy was to act as sponsor for the project. As the project achieved its goal of becoming a profit-making business, it would spin off from its non-profit sponsor and incorporate into a separate entity. The project is adult operated but has youth who are trained in the various jobs that the business requires. Academic credit for the experience was not a primary concern.

Specific Linkages and How They Worked

This project was developed out of a relationship between two non-profit organizations interested in supporting the development of higher technology in energy fields. A Washington-based group was instrumental in writing the initial proposal and in selecting the parent group to organize the project. Once underway, the Washington group has had only peripheral contact with the on-going project.

The project director was hired by the parent organization in June 1979. Initial communications between the parent organization staff and the new director were strained. The second on-site observer noted that the first observer (a member of parent organization staff) saw the director as "not communicating well with the parent organization staff." The new observer felt that this feeling was related to how the project had been presented to the parent organization staff in the beginning and to the inexperience of the parent organization staff with business and educational jargon. For example, they were not familiar with product contracts which were to be the new director's primary mode of task completion.

In spite of the initial reaction by parent organization staff, the current observer describes the new director as having "done a fantastic job getting refunding and perhaps even starting a new school which will be related to the project." The observer goes on to note that the director seems to have good relations with most people and that she (the observer) has no problem communicating with the director. Based on the work of the new director and the project there is talk of replicating this project nationwide.

The parent organization and staff were of little help to the new project director. When the director asked for feedback on specific proposals, he received little help from the parent group. According to the observer, the director's attitude about it was that he was hired to do a job and he would do it with or without their help.

One point where the parent organization was valuable was after the students joined the program (November 1979). The parent organization became involved when its technicians helped students as instructors for on-the-job training. The role of the parent organization was brief since a special OJT instructor was hired soon afterward.

By March 1980, the board of directors of the parent organization had decided to let the project spin off from the parent group. This was not a major shift since the parent organization had had little interaction with the project since its inception. As the observer noted in a recent protocol:

> ...The linkage between the parent organization and the project has been severed almost completely. The break will be complete when the project moves to new quarters soon (3/80).

Further examples of the nature of the split illustrate the overt reason for the decision. The observer notes:

> ...On March 31st the director of the parent organization told me that he did not want his group to be connected with the project in any publicity. I (the observer) was astonished (3/80).

Subsequent investigation by the observer discovered that one of the reasons for this decision was to protect the non-profit status of the parent organization. Since the project had been envisioned as profit-making from the beginning, it was natural for the project to become independent of the non-profit organization. The project director provided a concise description of the decision to split and its effect on the linkage between the two groups. The director of the project explained:

> ...This would probably happen to any project which became self-sustaining in a profit-making form (4/80).

The observer noted that, according to the director,

> ...There had not been much of a linkage anyway because the decision making had been all his from the beginning. He simply gave a report of what had been done either to the board of the project or to the director of the parent organization (4/80).

The project moved to new quarters on June 1, 1980, and officially ended the linkage between the project and the parent group. The new quarters are more spacious and include classrooms, workshops, and offices. This move coincides with the refunding grant from Washington, which will make the project independent of the parent organization.

Foremost among the other linkages for the project was the local vocational high school. This linkage began in the spring of 1979 when the former director of the parent organization went to tell the principal of the high school about the new project. The principal seemed agreeable and immediately included the project on the school's schedule for the following fall. The principal was very disappointed when the project was not ready to begin when his school began. After the failure of the project to begin on time, he was no no longer very cooperative. The project has used a classroom in his school and made contracts with the drafting, carpentry, and marketing instructors to teach students in the project after school. The incentive for the instructors to become involved was that they have been paid over and above their high school salaries.

The observer at this project described the linkage with the vocational high school as "not great--but okay". The project, as a result of the condition of the linkage, is looking into starting its own school next year. A person has been hired to do the feasibility study for the school, which must be able to give academic credit for the training. A meeting was to be held with the city zoning authority to see if a school could be located near the new headquarters. The observer cites this as another example of the project director's ability "to get things done".

There has been one example linking project activity directly to what happens in the vocational high school. One student's English teacher said that she would give the student extra credit in her course for work he does for the project. No other teacher has done this. A a rule, students do not get academic credit for their project training, although they do considerable reading and some writing as a result of the project.

An alternative high school (different from the vocational high school) gives credit for work done by their students at the project. There are only two students from this school working at the project. The observer, in describing this linkage suggests:

> ...The linkage at Alternative High School should have been built up. I guess it was not built because of the lack of time on the part of the instructors and the director. Also, the fact that the school is brand new this year may have had an effect (4/80).

At the end of the school year (May 1980), the linkage with the vocational high school was terminated. The feeling by the observer was that the project "may not have made much of an impression on the principal, but there was interest in the project from students and at least two instructors."

The Prime Sponsor

Linkage with the CETA prime sponsor has been virtually nonexistent. This was to be expected given the nature of the funding for this project (bypassing the prime sponsor). The project has followed CETA guidelines for income level but that is about all. The prime sponsor has planned to study this project to see if it could be replicated.

Other Linkages

By the first of July 1980, the project will have been incorporated with its own board of directors. This advisory board is a good linkage to the private sector both in the surrounding community and nationally. The board was appointed by the project director and includes representatives from Youthwork, the Washington-based non-profit group which was instrumental in proposing the project in the beginning, the State Housing Authority, a contractor, and several representatives from other interest groups. The positions that these people hold are seen as valuable assets to the project and will be instrumental in the efforts to secure contracts and become a successful profit-making business. Several members of the board have already included the project in proposals for funding and other members have helped to publicize the project's work.

All other linkages of the project have been made through formal contracts with individuals or organizations to produce specific products. An example of this is a contract with a documentary film maker who has taught students how to make photos and process black and white pictures as well as make movies. Two other examples include the following: 1) an artist was commissioned to design a logo for the project and then taught the students how to silkscreen the logo on tee-shirts; and 2) a contract for publicity that has already produced calls for energy audits on single-family dwellings. This gave students more on-the-job training and may yet develop into additional contracts for the business.

A critical aspect of this project, from the observer's perspective, was the granting of product contracts. The observer felt that these contracts, which spell out duties, responsibilities, and areas of decision making, went a long ways toward solving many potential problems in getting the work done. In the observer's opinion, the successful development of these linkages depended upon clear definition of the tasks outlined by the contracts and the professional attitudes of all involved. More discussion of this aspect of the project is presented at the beginning of the next section.

Synopsis and Discussion for Case #2

Almost all linkages through this project seem to be initiated through or by the project director. His method of creating these links was through a system of formal contracts for specified products. This method of operation was also instituted as a way to gauge student performance. However, this method immediately created problems for the project with the parent organization. The on-site observer characterized the parent organization's modus operandi:

> ...In the past, the parent organization has functioned on an informal, casual manner (leading, perhaps to disorganization..). When the project director appeared with contracts which had to be signed before anyone could give technical assistance, the staff of the parent organization was incensed. They did not see the need for anything of this sort (1/80).

This method of operation reflects the project director's background as a contractor and systems analyst. His experience had taught him that, "When what was expected of a person and what his renumeration would be for that task were spelled out, confusion did not result" (1/80).

The relationship between the parent organization and the Youthwork project has been cool almost from the beginning. One of the persons involved in the initial development of the project placed the blame on the way the project had been presented to the organization at the first meeting. There is no data confirming this report or providing more specificity as to the initial incident. By the first of the year (January 1980) relations were less than cooperative.

Another major linkage for the project has been with the local vocational technical high school. The project had initially made contact with the school in the spring of 1979. At this time, the project had expected to be operational by September and had hoped to include both students and staff of the school in the project. Initially, the principal of the school had shown enthusiasm for the project and was encouraging as to the possibility of a major linkage with the school. A major stumbling block occurred when the project was not ready to begin in September. When it took longer and longer to get started, enthusiasm for the project dwindled. The principal of the high school was moved to suggest that it (the project) was only a passing fad. When the on-site observer was introduced to the principal, his first comment was "What are you watching?...a snail?"

The vocational high school has remained linked to the project through use of some school staff to teach classes for project youth and through the use of some classroom facilities at the school. As a result of the late start by the project (November 1979), a full scale link-up with the school was impossible. Because of the failure of this link to develop more fully, the project is now looking into the possibility of opening its own school. This proposal is in the early stages and as yet, no decision has been made.

Several other linkages have been initiated to help promote the project. An Outward Bound type program has been developed to provide some services for the project youth. The state housing authority has been asked to certify the project to do certain kinds of work on housing problems. The project hopes in these ways to improve low-income housing and to also provide educational resources for state officials to draw upon when making future decisions.

The linkage to the prime sponsor has been very loose and has dealt primarily with eligibility issues. The prime has ultimate decision-making authority in this area and the project staff's role has been to do the necessary paper work. The prime had no role in the substantive operation of the project.

A local neighborhood organization has also been contacted which may offer support through the project to poor people to help make improvements on their homes. Members of the organization will have work done on their homes first. In this way, the project has hoped to build some community credibility and to reciprocate for the help the organization is giving to the project. The goal of the project

Incentives for Linkage

There were few incentives for the parent organization to become involved in the new project.

(to become independent) and the very different style of operating by the project director seem to preclude close relations with the parent organization. There was little incentive for the prime sponsor to become involved since the method used to fund this project bypassed the prime sponsor.

With the other linkages, different factors provided incentives for cooperation. For example, the state housing authority saw an opportunity to utilize the expertise developed at the project to further some of its own goals. A ranking member of the housing authority has also been chosen to serve on the board of directors of the project. This was a major link for the future. The local neighborhood organization has received special housing services in return for their support of the project. The project has gained valuable on-the-job training experience as a result of the work provided by the organization.

CASE STUDY #3

This project created a personnel office run by secondary school students to receive real-work, jobs-for-pay requests for in-school tasks. The four program components were (1) a graphic arts media production studio that would produce recruiting materials and training aids and disseminate them, (2) a student food service that would plan and operate an alternative lunch program, (3) a consumer action service to assist consumers, and (4) a maintenance and repair service for school repair tasks. Students who met income guidelines, handicapped and special problem students, and other disadvantaged students were eligible to participate in the program, but only income-eligible students were trained on the in-school jobs and helped on the basic skills by a specially trained project staff.

Specific Linkages and How They Worked

The project has operated from a base within a metropolitan school district. It has operated as a semi-autonomous alternative school drawing students from other schools for half-day or full-day semesters. The project was one of the original 48 funded by Youthwork in the fall of 1978 and has been in continuous operation since then, except for the summer of 1979.

Public and Private Sector Linkages

The most important aspect of the process of establishing linkages at this project, according to the observer, has been the project director's approach to representatives of business, government, and industry. This approach is illustrated from a talk by the project director to some potential linkers.

> ...First and foremost, we are very appreciative that you are willing to consider helping out a student by adding a very important educational experience to her/his high school program. We think that the student will be able to make a contribution to your organization as well, but we very strongly feel that you people should get a lot of credit for your willingness to participate in the educational process. We are going to be very available to you for consultation, and we are going to make it easy for you to assume this additional responsibility by making the paper work easy and as hassle free as possible (1/80).

In the opinion of the observer, the extensive network of linkages to various businesses, agencies, and cultural organizations have come about largely as a result of the energy and persistence of the project director and her staff members. An abbreviated list of associated groups is provided below.

Public Interest Research Group
Art Gallery
Children's Theatre
Upward Bound
Mayor's Office
Museum of Arts
House of Representatives
Telephone Company
The Urban League
Better Business Bureau
Chamber of Commerce
Law Firms

Public relations for the project has always been viewed as important by the director of the project. Building linkages required that the project become known to potential linkers. According to the observers, money did not serve as an incentive in the process. The appeal to civic pride seemed to be enough to encourage sponsors to volunteer.

Money was an issue in that fewer of the linkages could have been built without the availability of CETA funds to pay eligible students for their work time. In this program, there was a mix of CETA-eligible and non-eligible students. The internship sites, as a rule, were not concerned about paying the interns for their work. The mix of CETA-eligible and non-eligible students diminished this as an issue for sponsors. Furthermore, the city in which the project is located considers itself very civic minded, and the opportunity to participate in on-going educational programs has important public relations value in and of itself for many businesses, whether or not there was money coming in to support the process.

The process for creating the linkages between the project and government and business groups has been quite specific at this project. It is outlined below, as provided by the project director.

1) The director makes a telephone call to the potential internship site.

2) Specific preparation is made with the student prior to the initial meeting at the internship site. The students goals for working at the site are discussed and the interview situation is then role played with the student.

3) The director attends the first meeting with the potential internship supervisor and the student and specifically asks the student in front of potential supervisor what the student's goals are. This provides a basis for the supervisor to respond quite directly about whether or not this internship site can in fact provide the kind of experience that the student is seeking.

4) In the present program, the director has trained all of the coordinators to do this work. Their own students have a much higher commitment to their own program coordinator than they do to the project director, even though the director has more power than the coordinators. Personal loyalty issues of the students to their own coordinators are important considerations (5/80).

The phrase "enlightened self-interest" seems appropriate as a description of the linkages at this project. It was in the best interests of the project to establish as wide a variety of contacts as possible in the community to provide a choice of internships for their students. These internships were then matched up with the students' personal interests and capabilities. It was also in the best interest of the government and business community to provide opportunities for youth in keeping with their strong service ethic.

There was no coordination, as such, of these linkages among the various agencies and no attempt to tap the agencies for other resources, either money or manpower. Such an effort might have had positive implications for the project as a whole. This would have occurred through combining resources and ideas to combat the basic survival issues with which the project has been confronted. In the longer term, a linking of the various agencies and their resources may have helped develop strong ties to facilitate the growth and development of the young interns and the project.

The Prime Sponsor

The primary linkage of the project was with the local prime sponsor. The other linkages served as job spots for the students, but the prime sponsor has held a life-and-death struggle with the project from the very beginning. The linking of the project to other groups, according to the on-site observer, seemed quite dualistic.

> ...If you are not for me, you are against me. Either there was strong energetic, committed support in all kinds of ways, or else there was nothing much happening at all (5/80).

Even though it was the primary linkage for the project, the link with the prime sponsor was weak in terms of support and encouragement for the project. The prime had the most potential power and resources to nurture, extend, and continue the project after the initial period of the contract. It seemed to the observer that the prime sponsor "viewed the program as something to be tolerated as a nuisance which would eventually go away." The central focus of the conflict between the project and the prime sponsor was over the budget of the project.

Several issues are indicative of the project's relationship with the prime sponsor. The first and most longstanding of these issues was the fact that the project director had no status within the school system and thus no power base from which to operate. The director was neither faculty nor administration and was seen by the bureaucracy "as a kind of little old lady in tennis shoes" (her own description).

The director had written the proposal for the project but the person in charge of CETA programs in the school system (the liaison) had assumed all along that he was going to be in charge of the budget for the project. The prime sponsor for the city formed a united front with the liaison person against the director on all issues. This led to a feeling of "them against us". The observer described the relationship between the prime and the director:

> ...The words that were used to describe their trying to get control of the budget were usually something like "your program is part of a more comprehensive system of programs and the best aspects of your program should be incorporated into this system. To be able to do this, we need to have a good idea of what is going on in the budget, and to do that we need to control it." All that sounds very reasonable but my (observer) view of this was that it was simply an effort to control and that as long as the director was not "under control" she could not be trusted or counted upon (2/80).

The lack of a working relationship with the prime sponsor hindered the project in at least two ways:

1) Constant haggling about the budget,

2) An endless stream of changed meetings, cancelled meetings, postponed meetings, and a basic unpredictability about scheduled commitments on the part of the prime sponsor.

The prime sponsor described his differences with the project director as basically philosophical. The observer agreed with that explanation but went on to note:

> ...I do believe that it is an accurate assessment, but I also believe that the "forgotten" meetings and battles over the budget did not follow automatically from having philsophical differences (5/80).

The general effect on the project of the problems with the prime sponsor has been that the project director and project staff have found themselves isolated throughout the project's tenure.

> ...Their thoughtful and effective work with adolescents was done in spite of, rather than with the help and support of the prime sponsor, who supposedly was in business to help the project (5/80).

The observer suggested that the stance of the prime sponsor was one of biding its time while the project ran itself through to the conclusion of its funding. They felt it was a hassle to deal with the director, but they knew they certainly would not have to deal with her forever.

Supportive Linkages

The other half of the duality, the positive links, were most typified by the project director's long-term relationship with a local university. In particular, two staff members at the university were very supportive of the director's efforts. One of the two had done the first year's third-party evaluation for the project.

These linkages were in existence prior to the beginning of the project. The relationships have remained constant throughout the project and have proven to be a source of strength and ideas for the project director. Two other examples on how these relationships have helped the project are: (1) one of the university staff lent her support in creating opportunities for the students to take on responsibilities in highly visible and responsible settings, and (2) other staff members have conducted portions of the research or found qualified persons to do the research.

The project director is highly respected by the university and state government officials. These persons have supported the implementation of the project and have lessened the eroding impact of the prime's opposition. Even with this support, it is hard to imagine that the continued opposition by the prime would not have some deleterious effect on the project.

Synopsis and Discussion for Case Study #3

This project was located in a large metropolitan school system. The major linkage for the project was with the local prime sponsor. The prime sponsor has shown resistance to this project from the beginning. The disagreement has reflected the different perspectives which have been held by the prime and the project operator.

The prime has proposed to integrate the Exemplary program with other CETA youth programs under its jurisdiction. The project operator has felt that if this were to occur the project would lose many of its innovative features, which she has worked hard to create. The struggle over control of the project has gone on from the beginning. It appears at present that the project operator may win the battle, that is, keeping control of the project, but lose the war. The prime will not fund the program after the demonstration funds are expended.

The battle over the project has taken a tremendous toll on the emotions of the project director. The on-site observer reports that the director "had been very excited about all of the good innovative things going on in the project. That excitement had carried through a lot of the resistance from the CETA people in the first year. This year it feels more like a battle to her" (5/80). Although these circumstances have obvious implications for the long-term survival of the project, the service and training for the youth did not seem to suffer as a result of the confrontation.

A last note might be made regarding the relationship between the prime and the project operator. The onsite observer attended several of the regularly scheduled meetings between the prime and the project operator. After one particularly perplexing meeting, the observer notes:

> ...My sense from this meeting was that it was a kind of necessary annoying obligation for all three of the people involved (prime, project operator, and school-CETA liaison person). In no real sense was it a cooperative effort for them (1/80).

There have been several minor and loosely held links between the project and the private sector. The linkages primarily involved either field trips to various businesses where the youth were exposed to certain activities or internships for youth to work one-on-one with people in certain jobs. An example of the former linkage was when a company's personnel department gave the youth a closeup look at the job application and hiring process by having the youth go through the process of applying for a full-time job. A few of the youth carefully completed resumes and applications for specific positions and went through the entire screening procedure for that position. People from the company then selected only one person for the mock job and then conducted a seminar for the youth illustrating the kinds of things that led them to choose that one particular student over all of the other applicants. One of the teachers in the project is quoted by the observer as having said:

> ...The students in the class are taking this very seriously and are looking forward to learning about what it is really like to get a job in the real world (2/80).

Incentives for Linkages

The incentives for the linkage to this project seem to have been in the form of community responsibility. The project director is a long-time community organizer and has found that appeals to civic pride and responsibility generally bring good responses from local businesses. The experience of this project, both in the private and public sector, has lent support to her argument. The project has maintained internship slots at a number of organizations and is well represented in the local community.

Decision Making

Decision-making authority has been shared with the prime on some matters. For example, when the project operator wanted to use certain unspent funds to start new programs, the prime sponsor's input and approval was needed. There have been several other instances where the parties have cooperated out of necessity. While the preponderance of the interaction was negative, in this one sphere at least (assuming that shared decison-making is positive), the project and the prime have cultivated a somewhat positive relationship.

CASE STUDY #4

This project was designed to: (1) provide training and employment for marginally employable youth; (2) stress basic learning skills for those who have revealed a need for special help; (3) involve youth in planning, operation, and evaluation of the project; (4) become a self-supporting and on-going project at the end of the project funding; (5) establish linkages with agencies with similar goals that may provide services and resources for the youth in the project; and (6) provide youth with an opportunity to enhance their employment chances through training and future contacts established while in the project.

Specific Linkages and How They Worked

The idea for the project developed out of a needs assessment conducted by the county community education office and the state college. Four components were pinpointed as areas that needed the most concentration. The local high school seemed the most logical institution in which to place the program and there was already a linkage between both the community education office and the county board of education.

The Prime Sponsor

There was a prior linkage between the school and the Department of Labor (DOL) as the school had some YEPT students. But the exemplary program itself promoted a solid linkage between the project and local CETA officials.

There has been little progress as far as developing assistance, services, or resources from other CETA programs. Mostly, the linkage has been informational in nature, but has been helpful because other institutional contacts are made through these informal linkages. A close relationship has developed with the Employment Service Office. This agency conducts all CETA certification for the project including income certifications and obtaining any information needed from the welfare office.

There had been a concerted effort on the part of the program director to develop a linkage with the Office of Economic Opportunity for the purpose of obtaining information, services, and additional CETA slots. However, the director of OEO felt they were in direct competition with the project and a linkage was not established.

U.S. Department of Agriculture

Once the project began there was a rapid succession of inter-institutional linkages. The Department of Agriculture was helpful in terms of giving information and services to both the project staff and participants. USDA was instrumental in securing funds to provide food for one of the project components. There has been considerable linkage with the County extension agent who helped in setting up various plans for one of the businesses. The agent has been supportive of the program and helped establish linkages with the soils people and county health department for the project. The soils people tested, designed, and laid out the physical plant and consulted on the location and placement of the wells. The county health department certified the physical plant and also assisted the project in preparing inoculations certificates, birth certificates, and health examinations for the clients.

Generally, the inter-institutional linkages have not only provided information, but also have shared services, resources, and assistance. Since all the agencies share a common goal (service), these linkages appear to be expanding and strengthening over time.

Reciprocal Relations with a CBO

This sharing of common goals seems to be the driving incentive for interagency cooperation as well as the sharing of services between agencies. One recent and important example is that the project is now providing service for an autistic child who was ready to be mainstreamed into the schools. The Comprehensive Psycho-Educational Service, which has provided assistance for the project, has asked the project to place this child in their project. The parents of the child cannot afford to pay so the project is making arrangements with the Department of Human Resources to help these parents. The project will receive payment in-kind as opposed to straight cash. This situation not only helped the child, parents, and the other agencies involved, but it allowed the students to be introduced to a situation they never knew existed. In situations like these, where services, decision making, and authority are shared, the program and students themselves receive positive and enlightening benefits.

The participants of the program appear to be the major benefactors of the successful inter-institutional linkages. Some of the benefits that students received from these linkages are financial assistance, academic and work experience, contact with future workers and employers, and exposure to job fields they did not know about.

Public and Private Sector Linkages

There has been little private sector linkage owing to a lack of awareness of the project by this sector. In the beginning of the project, there were some problems with community acceptance of certain components. Prior racial problems impaired support of one unit. Misunderstanding and political barriers hindered the support of another. These differences have been resolved mostly due to the expanding linkage with the local community education office. During the summer, the students participated in a community education office project. This exposure "broke the ice" with the community and commitment toward the goal of gaining community and private sector involvement has begun to show promise. Several experts have provided advice and support for another operation and expressed an interest in the possibility of hiring future project graduates. Contact has also been made with several construction companies who are interested in hiring future graduates. Some local businesses have expressed a need for computer programmers and the school is considering adopting this program into their curriculum.

A pattern of enlightened self-interest seems to have brought about linkages in both the private and public sector. These linkages should be expanded and strengthened in the near future.

Synopsis and Discussion for Case Study #4

A key concept for this project has been "common goals". In its attempt to create linkages to other institutions, it has tried to contact agencies that are in the business of providing resources for education and employment programs. A few examples of the institutions with which the project has had linkages include Family and Children's Services, Employment Service Office, and the United States Department of Agriculture.

The linkages, as a rule, have been to provide specific services to the project. The United States Department of Agriculture has provided food for breakfast and lunch at one of the project components and has also provided some technical assistance on agriculture-related matters. Such groups as construction companies and service centers have provided instruction in particular skill areas.

The project has not referred any students to local social service agencies or mental health counselors. Most problem students are sent to the school guidance counselor. There seems to be a genuine reluctance on the part of the students to consult with the guidance counselor. Many students feel (according to the observer) that the guidance counselor does not really help with their problems. A linkage with another institution, perhaps social services, would seem in order.

The linkage to the local Department of Labor office was loose and was based on the department's function of finding employment for those seeking it. The staff at the local office gives technical assistance to the project. A local official described the exemplary project as:

> ...a good one because it provides work experience and training for the students and it makes it easier to place them in jobs. Employers like their prospective employees to have prior training and experience and to have the exposure to basic working skills such as being familiar with working protocol, rules, regulations, etc. Employees that have had prior training, experience and knowledge of working rules save the employer (both) time and money (3/80).

This official also made suggestions on what kinds of skills would be most marketable in the near future for the project area. These were: (1) small engine repair; (2) tractor repair; (3) secretarial/clerical; (4) business skills and; (5) technological skills (data processing). The project may adopt some of these occupations into its training component to meet the upcoming need as projected by the Department of Labor official.

Another linkage the site has developed has been the result of attempts to give the students some exposure to jobs they might otherwise have not known existed. The students have taken approximately two field trips a quarter to actual work sites in their fields of interest. The purpose of the trips, according to the project director, was to "acquaint the participants with actual work sites, let them observe the site in several work stages, and to provide them with an opportunity to talk with employees and employers about their specific skill areas, availability of jobs, and income opportunities." This was the only career exposure the youth received since no job seeking skills class was offered at the school. Limited job placement and career information were available from the guidance counseling office.

Incentives for Linkage

The incentives for the linkage seem to have come from the sharing of mutual interests between the project and the institutions. There was little, if any, incentive from a monetary standpoint. The agencies involved with the project provided services that were in line with the nature of the institution's own goals. Through good will built in the community and through personal contacts of project staff, some business organizations offered seminars to help students learn specific skills. Career exposure at different businesses seems to have developed through a similar process.

Decision Making

Decision-making authority has rested solely with the project in these relationships. Other agencies have been tapped for their expertise and resources, but there has been virtually no formal joint decision making.

DISCUSSION

Linkage, Integration, and Service Delivery

One working hypotheses in this analysis has been that better linkage and integration yields better service delivery (see Analysis Packet #6, Appendix A). It appears from the data that two of the four projects have few meaningful inter-institutional linkages (Cases 1 & 2). One case (Case 3) has many linkages with agencies that provide internship slots for its students, but because of its relationship with the local prime it has been all but isolated as a program within the school system. Only

Case 4 shows signs of integration with the wider environment. The results indicate enhanced service delivery by the project.

There does seem to be some question as to the desirability of integration of youth-operated projects with other CETA youth programs. Evidence from the field (Cases 1 & 2) suggests that if a project is to be true to its mandate of youth involvement, it must avoid the constraints that adult-run agencies would place on it. Several examples in Case 1 illustrated that the concept of youth operation required an exception to the normal operating rules of CETA. The types of project that youth decided to operate and, sometimes, their mode of operating these projects, made universal standards impossible. Integration of such projects with other more stringently controlled programs would appear to pose a problem for local decision makers.

The failure to go along with the prime sponsor presented survival difficulties for at least one project (Case 3). The nature of the original funding, as a demonstration project, made this project dependent on the prime. The prime had every intention of "integrating" this program with the other youth programs in the city. The project director has fought to retain control of the project. In this instance, the failure to allow integration has definite survival implications. The inference that can be drawn from the prime's insistence on control is that if you (the director) allow us to integrate your program, we (the prime) will be willing to support it once demonstration funds have been expended. The refusal by the director to accept this proposal has the project facing almost certain discontinuation (observer's opinion) once current funds are gone.

This project director has responded by trying to create linkages to other more sympathetic institutions. These have included a local college, an agency of the state government, and a national advocacy group. The hoped for result from these linkages has been to force the prime to "pick up" the program after demonstration funding ceases or to find another grant to support the project.

Case 4 is a good example of a project using links with other institutions to further the development of its own project. The project has tapped the expertise of several agencies to help accomplish specific tasks. The agencies' incentive for participation appears to be an acceptance of the goals of the program and generally good rapport between the various agency staff members. This project and Case 2 appear to be the only ones where linkages have been strengthened over time. Cases 1 and 3 have decreased their efforts at linking in anticipation of closing in the summer of 1980.

Linkages and Program Implementation

Linkages or the lack of linkages have had a definite impact on the implementation of the four projects. In Case 1, the lack of an ability to find/create a circumstance where adequate expertise was available to the youth led to long delays or the ultimate failure of some projects. The failure to create linkages in Case 3 has been discussed in some detail earlier. While this has not affected the program implementation, it certainly has affected the chances for continuation of the project. For Case 2 certain linkages have also failed to develop (with parent organization, for example). These do not seem to have impeded implementation efforts.

The explanation for this seems to lie in the dynamic leadership of the project director. His personal "will to succeed" has allowed the project to succeed in spite of the failure to create a meaningful linkage to what one would have thought was an important group for the project's survival. Case 4 is an example where linkages have played a positive role in the implementation of the project. The efforts of various private and public agencies have been instrumental in helping the project implement its programs.

In at least two examples, exemplary projects have had effects on the institutions to which they were linked. The first occurred in Case 1 when the project illustrated to a settlement house what an infusion of federal monies could accomplish. The project also affected programs at the settlement house by drawing staff time and energy away from other programs. The second example was in Case 4 where the project was able to reciprocate the help it had received from an organization by accepting an autistic child into its own program. This proved to be a milestone in institutional relations for the project and opened up new areas of exploration for the students involved.

This discussion has focused on several issues related to program integration, linkage, and implementation. While some issues were common across the cases, the most striking aspect of the data is its variety both in process and outcome. The data provides a dynamic view of how these projects have interacted with the institutions around them.

Postscript

This chapter has examined the network of linkages developed at each of four youth-operated projects. Links to other organizations and institutions have proven to be more crucial for some projects than for others. Each project faces the loss of demonstration funds effective September 30, 1980. It seems appropriate to discuss the seeming fate of each project and the role (or lack thereof) linkages have played in whether or not the project will be funded from other sources.

Case 1 has had difficulty linking itself to outside institutions. The fact that the project has been run by an arm of the prime sponsor has made relations with the school district tenuous. The schools in this area view CETA youth programs as competition for their own programs. In fact, the exemplary program was modeled after a program that had been operated in the schools for some time. The future of this project is fairly certain. No one, not project director, project staff, nor the on-site observer, expects the project to continue after September. There is no evidence to suggest that there is a causal relationship between the lack of inter-institutional linkages and the failure of the project to receive continuation funds.

Case 2 suggests a positive outcome beyond September 1980. The project has established itself as an independent corporation with its own headquarters and board of directors. The extensive contacts developed through the board of directors seems to assure the continued operation of the project in a profit-making form. Many other organizations have requested information about the project, and it looks as though the project may be replicated in other locales around the country.

Case 3, an LEA sponsored program, has been isolated as a program because of its inability to develop a positive relationship with the prime sponsor and the school-CETA liaison person. There is little hope that the prime sponsor will offer monetary support for the program to continue. No alternate source of funding appears to be available for the project. It will come to an end soon.

Case 4 has become highly integrated (in comparison with the other three cases) in the service delivery network of its local community. Two of its four components have been making efforts to become profit-making activities that could exist without continuation funding. While these appear to be positive developments, there has been no suggestion from the local prime sponsor, the schools, or any other source that they would be willing to fund the project once demonstration funds cease.

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APPENDIX A

INTER-INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES

This analysis packet has been prepared for the Youthwork National Policy Study of the Exemplary In-School Demonstration Project, Youthwork, Inc. Any questions concerning its content or use should be directed to the study's Director, Dr. Ray C. Rist, College of Human Ecology, Cornell University.

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ANALYSIS PACKET #6

INTER-INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES

INTRODUCTION

> Our normal expectation should be that new programs will fail to get off the ground and that, at best, they will take considerable time to get started. The cards in this world are stacked against things happening, so much effort is required to make them move. The remarkable thing is that new programs work at all. (Pressman and Wildavsky, Implementation, 1973.)

The concern of this analysis packet is to learn what we can of how to enhance the implementation and operation of the Youthwork Exemplary In-school Projects. More specifically, we are interested in the form and consequences of linkages that were created between the project and other organizations/institutions. Our research effort will examine the proposition that inter-institutional linkages are a critical component for successful program implementation. We are interested in both the breadth and depth of those linkages and the impact they have had upon the various projects.

To focus our efforts on this topic is to follow-up on several key policy questions raised by the U.S. Department of Labor in their 1979 Knowledge Development Plan for Youth Initiatives. The DOL has stated in this document that the following questions are among those they are seeking to answer based on such efforts as the Youthwork Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects. Three key questions posed by DOL are:

1) What approaches and procedures can be used to involve the private sector in employment and training efforts and to increase the placement of participants in private sector jobs?
2) To what extent are the programs integrated at the local level?
3) How can youth programs be better integrated to improve their administration and to provide more comprehensive services to youth?

By focusing on inter-institutional linkages, we seek to address the questions posed by the DOL. As in the past, the emphasis will be upon the gathering of qualitative data by means of observations, interviews, and the appropriate use of documents.

THE RESEARCH AGENDA

The research task is one of explicating the various patterns, forms, incentives, and consequences of establishing inter-institutional linkages. It will not be enough to simply state that a linkage was created. The more critical questions we are after are those related to whether and how the linkage was maintained and what were the consequences of the linkage for the project.

A note here on the concept of linkages. Linkages can be either formal or informal. Formal linkages might include contractual obligations, participation on advisory panels, shared decision making authority, the sharing of information and data, etc. Informal linkages are those which might be built on friendship, mutual interest in youth problems, sharing the same office, informally passing on referrals, providing leads on possible work site placements, etc.

In either instance, we are interested in those linkages which impact upon the ability of the program to achieve its goals. There may be many other linkages between the program and different institutional actors. Our concerns are those which count in terms of affecting program implementation and operation.

What gives us a particularly strong position from which to undertake such an analysis is that we have been able to observe the evolution of these linkages over time. Because of this advantage, a number of questions can be explored. What has happened to the linkages during the course of the program? Have some grown stronger? Why? If not, why not? Have different linkages seemed more important at different times in the life of the program, e.g., school-program linkages early in the effort, but now program-private sector linkages are more critical. If projects evolve and change over time, this information will help program operators and policy makers to understand the kinds of linkages occurring at projects and their impacts. Did projects appear to become more sophisticated about creating linkages or are the linkages to be created so different that at each stage project staff essentially had to start from the beginning? Finally, when during the life-cycle of the project did linkages become evident?

As will be apparent to those of you who have been in the field for us since the beginning of our study, several of the broad issues raised here are similar to those we first raised in the analysis packet on CETA/school relations. If the findings we reported in Interim Report #1 provided us with a glimpse of what forms the linkages were during the first months of the projects, we now have the advantage of an additional 9 to 12 months of field work to further refine our analysis. In the first report, we mentioned some factors that inhibited linkage, e.g., programs not starting in sync with the school calendar, lack of clear decisions making authority in programs, vague understandings by both the CETA and LEA systems as to the expectations and roles for each, etc. We want now to further clarify these factors and to study in more depth what linkages the projects have made and with what organizations. We are interested in strategies, alternatives, and consequences for program implementation and operation.

SPECIFIC AREAS OF INQUIRY

1. What are the incentives to intra- and inter-institutional linkage? This is an especially germane question in light of the first of the DOL questions posed at the beginning of the paper.
    a) What do appear to be the incentives that encourage the participation of various institutions and organizations? For the private sector in particular, what has it taken to bring about participation and are these incentives the same ones as envisioned when the program began? Is technical assistance necessary?
    b) Have linkages come about as a result of the presence of increased fiscal resources (i.e., the funds to support the youthwork project) or as a result of increased community influence and power.

c) Have there been patterns of "enlightened self interest" which have brought about linkages? That is, do linkages occur in those instances where everyone has a chance to gain something as a result of their participation? As one example: Many of the projects did not expend their funds in the allotted time. Did the surplus funds have an impact on the linkages? How were decisions made about the use of these funds? Did "surplus" funds bring renewed interest?

d) What are the barriers to successful cooperation among these agencies and what strategies are utilized by these agencies to overcome them?

e) Under what conditions would an agency or a collaboration of agencies commit itself to supporting the project beyond Youthwork funding?

2. With which organizations, institutions and agencies does the project have linkages? The concern here is to define in precise terms the various forms and styles of linkages that have been created between the project and other relevant organizations. The task is not simply to list what organizations are involved, but how the linkage was created, what it has accomplished, and what were the key ingredients in the development of the linkage. Do not simply give descriptions of the linkages based on interviews, but provide detailed observations of the linkages at work, e.g., meetings, classroom activities, or work experiences. We need to get at the actual content of that linkage, not simply its formal institutional

framework. (What looks good on paper might not work, and vice versa.) In addressing this question the on-site observers must direct their attention to:

a) Specifically who is linked with whom and how does that linkage function? What are the roles of each agency in the linkage? How were these roles developed?

b) Which linkages were in existance prior to the program?

c) Provide an understanding of whether the linkages improved or disintegrated over time and why.

d) There is the question of whether the linkages have had any impact upon the institutions themselves. Are they more willing to share information, to share decision making, to share work on other tasks? Are the relationships likely to continue, or be limited to the current project?

e) How do the various agencies in a collaborative relationship perceive each other?

3. Among the institutions, agencies and organizations involved, who has the authority to decide what? The issue is one of who has operational authority for the project and whether linkages have been created to share this authority. One of the primary goals of the YEDPA legislation has been to create incentives for collaboration and linkage between CETA and LEA's. (Witness the 22% set aside for YETP monies for LEA's to use for in-school youth.) The concern is with the impact of authority and decision making structures of the LEA's and the CETA systems on the

operations of the Exemplary In-school projects. We had examples in Interim Report #1 of blockages to collaboration: e.g., unwillingness to share decision on curriculum, on the content of the student's daily schedule, or over the form and content of new courses. Likewise, there were disputes over monitoring the project, on DOL budgeting procedures, and over the types and sites for on-the-job training. Are these disagreements still occurring? If so, why? If not, what happened to break the log jam? To address this area, on-site observers should:

a) Provide descriptions of specific decisions made by the interested parties on specific issues (academic credit, budget, etc.).

b) Provide your informed judgment on whether the linkages that have been formed have had any impact upon the services and experiences provided to youth. Benefits for them, after all, is what these programs are about. Are youth better off as a result? In other words, what is the product of the relationship among the involved agencies.

c) Focus on the programmatic consequences of decision-making and authority structures in terms of the operation and implementation of programs.

SYNOPSIS BY ON-SITE OBSERVER

In addition to the field work which each of the on-site observers will undertake, each observer will provide to the YNPS a personal response for each of the questions posed under the three topics listed earlier. That is, we expect from each observer a document where you answer the questions that have guided your data collection efforts. You may well see trends, contradictions, insights, etc. that were not evident in the protocols themselves. We are after a synthesis that would come into focus as you think about each of the questions and provide an answer, much as if we were interviewing each of you individually. Indeed, this is how you can consider this portion of the effort--an indepth interview with specific questions and open probes. Please be both specific and comprehensive. It is most important that we learn as much as possible from all of you who are in such close and continuous contact with your respective sites.